خدا بخش لائبریری

جرنل

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خدا بخش اورینٹل پبلک لائبریری، پٹنہ

خدا بخش لائبریری

تماہی

جرنل

پٹنہ

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خدا بخش اورینٹل پبلک لائبریری پٹنہ

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خدا بخش لائبریری نے پٹنہ لیتھو پریس، ارسنالین پٹنہ ۴ اور ایبرٹی آرٹ پریس دہلی سے چھپوا کر شائع کیا۔

ایڈیٹر: عابد رضا بیدار

آثارِ آزاد

مولانا ابوالکلام آزاد کے اوائلِ عمر کی خود نوشت تحریریں

مرتبہ

پروفیسر سید قدرت اللہ فاطمی
اسلام آباد، پاکستان

پروفیسر سید قدرت اللہ فاطمی (پ ۱۹۱۲ء) خانوادہ صادق پور عظیم آباد پٹنہ کے چشم و چراغ اور شمس العلماء خان بہادر مولانا محمد یوسف جعفری رنجور عظیم آبادی کے نواسے۔ آپ کے والد مولوی سید محمد عبداللہ بہار و اڑیسہ حکومت کے تحت ڈپٹی کلکٹر پورنیہ اور گزیٹیئر کے چیف ریفارمر تھے جن کی تصنیف "العلائی فی خدمۃ الاعلیٰ النبویۃ فی خدمۃ الاحمدیۃ" علمی حلقوں میں کافی شہرت کی حامل ہے۔ فاطمی صاحب نے پٹنہ یونیورسٹی سے تعلیم حاصل کی اور ایم اے کے امتحان میں شریک ہوئے اور کامیاب بھی ہوئے لیکن علالت کے سبب نتائج میں چنانچہ انگلینڈ جا کر اس کے زبانی (۱۹۱۷ء) امتحان میں شریک نہ ہو سکے۔ اس طرح سرکاری افسری کے بجائے آپ کی زندگی علم و ادب کی خدمت کے لیے جو آپ کا خاندانی ورثہ تھی وقف ہو گئی۔

تقسیم کے بعد پاکستان چلے گئے جہاں ایک مدت تک فری ایرانی پاکستان انٹرنیشنل آئی۔ ٹی۔ وی۔ ایجنسی کو آپریشن ڈائرکٹر رہے۔ [illegible] کے کچھ عرصہ پاکستان سفارت خانہ کے ڈائرکٹر رہے۔ کئی سال بیشتر میں پاکستانی اسٹیڈیز کے پروفیسر رہے۔ پاکستان ٹی وی پر مستقل آپ کے علمی ادبی مذاکرات سننے والوں کے لیے دلچسپی پیدا کرتے ہیں۔ پاکستان اور مصر کی ادبی و مذہبی متعدد کتابوں کے مصنف ہیں۔

عالمی سطح پر ہندوستان اور اسلام، ہندوستانی تعلیم میں اور علمی و ادبی مرکزیوں میں مشغول ہیں

مقدمہ

میرے نانا شمس العلما خان بہادر مولانا محمد یوسف جعفری نجم عظیم آبادی مرحوم و مغفور کے ذاتی کتب خانہ (واقع محلہ نصیر گنج، ارباب، پٹنہ) میں حضرت مولانا ابوالکلام آزاد کے اوائل عمری کی چند تحریریں محفوظ ہیں۔ آزادی کے بعد ان کے پوتے عزیزم محمد سبحان جعفری ایم اے (ابن مولوی محمد حسان جعفری مرحوم) نے نقل مکانی کر کے کراچی میں سکونت اختیار کی اور وہیں یہ نادر خزانہ اپنے ساتھ لے گئے۔ اور از راہ سعادتمندی یہ کہتے ہوئے انھوں نے اسے میرے حوالے کر دیا کہ "بھائی جان اس کے مستحق آپ ہیں۔ آپ چاہیں تو اسے اپنے پاس محفوظ رکھیں، یا مناسب سمجھیں تو اسے شائع کر دیجیے۔" مجھے اس سے قبل ان تحریروں کا علم نہ تھا۔ ان کے مطالعے سے پتہ چلا کہ ان میں سے اکثر نجی نوعیت کی ہیں۔ بنا بریں حضرت مولانا سے پوچھے بغیر ان کی اشاعت کو میں نے روا نہ رکھا۔ لیکن مولانا سے مشورہ لیا کیسے جاتا؟ میں نے اپنے بچپن ہی سے انھیں "آزاد نانا" کی حیثیت سے جانا تھا۔ آزادی سے پہلے بالخصوص انتقالِ اقتدار کے سلسلے میں شملہ مذاکرات کے دوران میں ان سے طویل ملاقاتوں کی سعادت حاصل ہوئی تھی (اس زمانے میں ہم لوگ شملہ میں مقیم تھے) لیکن ۴۷ء کے بعد تو میرے اور مولانا کے درمیان آگ کا دریا حائل تھا! مجھے یقین تھا کہ یہ حالات بہت دیر تک قائم نہیں رہیں گے، دونوں نو آزاد ملکوں کے درمیان ہمسائیگی کے رشتے استوار ہو جائیں گے۔ بالآخر حالات نسبتاً بہتر ہو گئے۔ لیکن اس سے پہلے کہ میں اس سے مستفید ہو کر آزاد نانا کی خدمت میں حاضر ہوتا، وہ وہاں چلے گئے جہاں ان سے رابطہ قائم کرنا ممکن نہ تھا۔ یوں یہ تحریریں میرے پاس امانت پڑی رہیں۔

۶۴-۶۵ء کی بات ہے کہ آزاد ریسرچ انسٹی ٹیوٹ کراچی کے مستعد مہتمم جناب (ڈاکٹر جناب) ابوسلمان شاہ جہاں پوری مولانا غلام رسول مہر کے تعاون کے ساتھ تشریف لائے اور انسٹی ٹیوٹ کی کارگزاریوں اور مستقبل کے منصوبوں کا انھوں نے ذکر کیا۔ میں نے ان کے اصرار پر حضرت مولانا کی تحریروں میں سے منظومات کا بیشتر حصہ

ان کے حوالے کر دیا کہ وہ اسے کسی مستند مجلے میں عکسی تصاویر کے ساتھ شائع کر دیں۔ میں ڈاکٹر ابوسلمان شاہ جہانپوری کا ممنون ہوں کہ انھوں نے اپنے وعدے کا بخوبی ایفا کیا۔ اور ان منظومات کو انجمن ترقی اردو پاکستان کے سہ ماہی مجلّہ "اردو" میں عکسی چربوں کے ساتھ چھپوایا اور ان پر مفید نوٹ کا اضافہ کیا[1]۔

حضرت مولانا کے انتقال کو تیس سال گزر چکے ہیں۔ ان کی وہ یادداشت جو انڈیا ونس فریڈم کے تیس غیر مطبوعہ صفحات پر مشتمل ہے عنقریب واگزار ہو جائے گی اور مولانا کی جامع سوانح عمری لکھنے کا وقت آئے گا۔ یقیناً اب مولانا کے اوائل عمر کی ان تحریروں کو بھی منظر عام پر آ جانا چاہیے، اس لیے کہ مولانا کے ذہنی ارتقا کے بنیادی مراحل کو سمجھنے کے لیے ان کے فکر کے تشکیلی دور کی ان تحریروں کا تجزیاتی مطالعہ ضروری ہے۔ وہ تیس صفحات جن کا اتنا کچھ چرچا ہے، انکے ذہنی سفر کے خاتمۃ الکتاب کے اجزا ہیں تو یہ گمنام تحریریں اسی سفر کے فاتحۃ الکتاب کے اوراقِ پریشاں ہیں۔

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ڈاکٹر عابد رضا بیدار لکھتے ہیں: "۱۴، ۱۵ سال کی عمر تھی کہ کیل دستو کے شہزادے گوتم کی طرح کلکتے کے اس مرشد زادے کو بھی حقیقت کی تلاش نے بے چین کر دیا جس کے نتیجے میں عقیدے ایک ایک کر کے تار تار بکھر گئے[2]۔" عین اس زمانے میں جب کہ کلکتے کے اس مرشد زادے کے ذہن میں یہ انقلاب آ رہا تھا اس کے پڑوس میں صادق پور کا ایک خاندان آ بسا، جس کے سربراہ محمد یوسف جعفری تھے۔ ان کے والد (مولانا یحییٰ علی شہید رحمان) حقیقی چچا (مولانا احمد اللہ شہید رحمان) اور سگے ماموں (مولانا عبدالرحیم اسیر رحمان) راہِ خدا میں اپنا سب کچھ لٹا چکے تھے۔ "وہابیت" جس سے اس مرشد زادے کے خاندان کو بھی بغض تھا وہ اس نئے پڑوسی کی گھٹی میں پڑی تھی۔ اس لیے کہ جہاد فی العمل اور اجتہاد فی الفکر کی وہ دعوت جو اپنوں اور غیروں ——— بالخصوص غیروں ——— میں "وہابیت" کے نام سے جانی گئی، اس دعوت کے نقیب ہونے کے جرم کی سزا میں اس کے بزرگوں کو کالے پانی کی عمر قید سزا، مکانات کے انہدام اور خاندانی سرمایے کی ضبطی کی شکل میں بھگتنی پڑی تھی۔ وہ اب بھی اپنے اجداد کے دین پر سختی سے عامل تھا۔ وہ یقیناً چیف مولوی بورڈ آف ایگزامنرز کے عہدے پر متمکن تھا اور حکومتِ برطانیہ کا انتہائی دیانتدار ملازم تھا۔ اتنی بات تو سب جانتے تھے۔ لیکن ہوی بچوں اور مجاہدین کے امیر اور ایک آدھ معتمد بزرگوں کے سوا کسی کو کانوں کان اس کی بھنک نہیں پہنچی تھی کہ وہ اپنی آمدنی کا بڑا حصہ ان مجاہدوں تک بالالتزام

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[1] مجلہ سہ ماہی اردو، انجمن ترقی اردو کراچی، اکتوبر ۱۹۶۹ء، ص ۱۰۱-۱۰۸ [2] عابد رضا بیدار: مولانا ابوالکلام آزاد ——— انسٹی ٹیوٹ آف اورینٹل اسٹڈیز رامپور، ۱۹۶۸ء، ص ۵۵۔

پہنچاتا تھا جو اب بھی شمال مغربی سرحد پر واقع آزاد علاقے میں چوکیاں قائم کیے کسی مناسب وقت کے منتظر تھے۔ اپنے اجداد کے ساتھ اس کے ظاہر باطن کی وفاداری اس قدر قابلِ اعتماد تھی کہ جب وہ رخصت لے کر اپنے آبائی وطن پٹنہ آتا تھا تو اس کے ماموں مولانا عبدالرحیم مصنف تذکرۂ صادقہ جو لارڈ رپن کی عام معافی کے اعلان کے بعد انڈمان سے دنیے اور دوسرے عوارض کی سوغات لے کر لوٹے تھے خاندانی جامع مسجد میں جمعہ کے خطبے اور نماز کی امامت کے فرائض اُسی کو سونپتے تھے۔

مولوی محمد یوسف جعفری کی ہمہ جہت شخصیت کا یہ ادنیٰ کرشمہ تھا کہ وہ صرف صادقپوری وہابی نہ تھے بلکہ ہندی علیگ بھی تھے۔ یعنی پیش نظر تحریروں کے مصنف کے قول کے مطابق "علی گڑھ کالج کے اولڈ سٹوڈنٹس میں ایک ممتاز شخص"۔ ص ۲۲ مولوی محمد یوسف جعفری کی شخصیت کا یہ قرآن السعدین تاریخ کے جدلیاتی عمل کا عین تقاضا تھا۔ علی گڑھ تحریک کے بانی نے اپنی سب سے عظیم تصنیف آثار الصنادید میں "جناب ہدایت انتساب زبدۂ اصلاح درگاہ حضرت سید احمد صاحب طاب ثراہ وجعل الجنۃ مثواہ" اور "فی السنۃ قامع البدعۃ مولانا مولوی محمد اسمٰعیل" کا ذکر اس والہانہ انداز میں کیا ہے جس کی نظیر جماعت مجاہدین کی تصانیف میں بھی نہیں ملتی۔[1] ان کی تصنیف "راہ سنت در ردِ بدعت" تو الطاف حسین حالی کے قول کے مطابق "وہابیت کے جوش کے زمانے" میں لکھی گئی تھی۔ لیکن جب ۱۸۷۱ء میں سر ولیم ہنٹر نے وہابیوں کے خلاف سازش کے مقدموں اور ان کے ظالمانہ فیصلوں کی تائید و استحکام کے لیے OUR INDIAN MUSLIM نامی کتاب لکھی تو انھیں نے اس کا سخت درشت اور دلآزار جواب انگریزی اخبار پائنیر میں دیا جس کا اردو ترجمہ "ہنٹر پر ہنٹر" کے مجمل عنوان سے شائع ہوا۔ اس سے ظاہر ہے کہ اس "نیچری" کی وہابیت کا جوش ۱۸۷۱ء کے انتہائی پرآشوب دور میں اپنے نقطۂ عروج پر تھا۔ یہ وہ زمانہ تھا جب کہ وہابیوں کی کوئی بے ضرر سی لچ کی تحریر کسی کے گھر سے نکل آتی تھی تو اس کو انتہائی سخت سزائیں بھگتنی پڑتی تھیں۔

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[1] سید احمد خاں، آثار الصنادید مطبع سید الاخبار دہلی ۱۸۴۷ء، ص ۳۳، ۳۴ و ص ۱۳۰، ۱۳۱۔ خود سرسید کا نے اس کتاب کا ترجمہ فرانسیسی زبان میں کیا تھا۔ سیشن جج ایڈورڈ ٹامس اور لفٹننٹ ہارٹس نے انگریزی میں ترجمہ شروع کیا تھا لیکن اس کی اردو فارسی آمیز طرز عبارت کو آسان کرنے کی فرمائش کی۔ ساتھ ہی یہ مشورہ دیا کہ کتاب آثار قدیمہ پر ہے اس میں جو بہت طویل باب بعنوان "شاہجہاں آباد کے لوگوں کا بیان" معاصرین کے بارے میں ہے، یہ انتہائی بے جوڑ سی بات ہے۔ سید احمد خاں نے دونوں مشورے قبول کر کے مشہور ہوئے تیرہ سال پہلے کتاب کا دوسرا ایڈیشن شائع کیا۔ خواجہ احمد عرص ۹۶ ایوان کہ پہلے کتنے سیاسی حالات کے تحت سرسید نے آثار الصنادید میں ترمیم کی تھی۔ ۲ ایضاً حسین حالی : حیات جاوید ترقی اردو بورڈ، کراچی ۱۹۶۹ء ص ۱۸۰

عین اس زمانے میں برملا اپنی وہابیت کا اعلان کر کے علی گڑھ کے "نیچری" نے جس استقامت کا ثبوت دیا تھا اس سے اسی کی توقع کی جا سکتی تھی کیوں کہ ۱۸۵۷ء کے فوراً بعد اسی نے "رسالہ اسباب بغاوت ہند" لکھ کر اعلان حق کیا اور جہاد بالقلم کا حق ادا کیا تھا۔ تلاش حق کے سفر کے راہی کو جواب غلام محی الدین سے محی الدین احمد ہو چکا تھا کیونکہ باپ کے دیے ہوئے نام میں اسے "شرک کی بُو" محسوس ہوتی تھی۔ محمد یوسف جعفری کی شکل میں ایک شجر سایہ دار ملا۔ والدہ کا انتقال ہو چکا تھا۔ والد اور بڑے بھائی (مولانا ابوالنصر غلام یٰسین آہ) اور ماموں[1] "عرب صاحب" سے شدید اختلافات پیدا ہو چکے تھے "جس کی جھلکیاں آپ کو آئندہ صفحات (ص ۱۰۔۱۱) پر نظر آئیں گی۔ محمد یوسف جعفری نے باپ اور بڑے بھائی کا خلا پُر کیا۔ ملیح آبادی کی روایت کے مطابق مولانا آزاد فرماتے ہیں: "اس زمانے میں مولوی محمد یوسف جعفری سے جواب شمس العلماء خاں بہادر ہو کر ریٹائر ہوئے ہیں ملاقات بہت بڑھ گئی تھی اور روزانہ دارالاخبار میں ملاقاتیں ہوتی تھیں۔ ابتدا سے وہ احسن الاخبار، انجمن اور دارالاخبار کی تجویز اور انتظام کے ایک شریک اور معاون رہے تھے۔"[2] روزانہ کی ان ملاقاتوں کے ساتھ ساتھ نصف ملاقات کا سلسلہ بھی جاری تھا جس کے شاہد آئندہ صفحات ہیں۔ محمد یوسف جعفری رنجور اور محی الدین احمد آزاد کی عمروں میں جتنا زیادہ تفاوت تھا ان کے ذہنوں میں اتنا ہی تطابق تھا۔ اس لیے آزاد اس تعلق کے بارے میں کوئی حتمی رائے قائم نہ کر پائے۔ چھوٹائی بڑائی اور برابری کے نشیب و فراز سے ان خطوط کے قاری کو قدم قدم پر سابقہ پڑتا ہے۔ بھئی سے جو خط لکھے گئے ہیں ان میں تو آزاد برابری کی سرحدوں کو بھی پار کرتے نظر آتے ہیں۔ وہ اب مولوی محمد یوسف جعفری کے خورد نہیں بلکہ بزرگ دکھائی دیتے ہیں۔ یہ بڑا پن "آزاد کے سوانح نگاروں اور ناقدوں کے لیے ان کی نفسیات کا ایک معمہ بن کر رہ گیا ہے۔ انگریزی میں کہاوت ہے کہ کچھ لوگ پیدائشی بڑے ہوتے ہیں کچھ خود اپنی کوشش سے بڑے ہو جاتے ہیں اور کچھ پر بڑائی تھپ جاتی ہے۔ مولانا عظمت کی ایک چوتھی صنف کے مالک تھے۔ وہ پیدائشی بڑے تھے اور بہت بڑے۔ والد مولانا خیرالدین، پردادا مولانا منورالدین ایک عظیم گھرانے کے عظیم ترین سپوت تھے۔ مولانا نے یہ عظمتیں ورثے میں پائی تھیں۔ انتہائی ذہانت اور غیر معمولی علم و فضیلت کے جوہر بچپن ہی میں آشکار ہو گئے تھے۔ وہ بچپن ہی میں پہچانے گئے تھے۔ لیکن اس موروثی عظمت کو ٹھکرا کر انھوں نے اپنے لیے اکتسابی عظمت کی نئی منزل ڈھونڈی اور ساری عمر اس کی تلاش میں

۱۔ ماموں کی یہ اصلاح وہابی تحریک کے رد و شرک کا ایک حصہ تھی۔ اس اصلاح کی سب سے نمایاں مثال مولانا احمد اللہ شہید الٰہ آباد کا نام نامی ہے جو اصلاً احمد بخش تھا۔ ۲۔ عبدالرزاق ملیح آبادی: آزاد کی کہانی خود آزاد کی زبانی، روایت ملیح آبادی، مکتبہ شاہراہ القرآن، دہلی، ۱۹۶۵ء ص ۲۸۰۔

سفر جاری رکھا۔ اس سفر کا نقشہ اور نشان بنانے کے لیے ان کے پاس صرف ایک نسخہ تھا: نمی دانم کہ چہ رہ کہ کاروان رفت ست۔ تنہائی ایسے مسافر کا مقدر ہوتی ہے۔ وہ رہ بر تنہا رہے۔ باپ نے لڑکپن میں ان کی شادی کر دی تھی۔ لیکن ایسی خاتون نہیں بلکہ بچی کے ساتھ جنسی ذہنی رفاقت کا سوال ہی نہیں پیدا ہوتا تھا۔ ان سے صرف ایک بیٹا ہوا جو بچپن ہی میں فوت ہو گیا۔ مولوی محمد یوسف جعفری نے تقریباً چار سال حق رفاقت ادا کیا۔ لیکن ان کی اپنی بھرپور مائلی زندگی تھی۔ وہ اپنے بال بچوں پر جان چھڑکتے تھے۔ اپنے جوان بیٹے بنیامین کے مرنے پر انھوں نے رو رو کر اپنی آنکھیں گنوا دی تھیں اور ان کے ساتھ وہی کچھ ہوا تھا جو ان کے ہمنام کی جدائی میں حضرت یعقوبؑ کو پیش آیا تھا۔ یعنی وَابْيَضَّتْ عَيْنَاهُ مِنَ الْحُزْنِ فَهُوَ كَظِيمٌ[1] کا مطلب ہے یہ رفاقت دیرپا نہیں ہو سکتی تھی۔ ان کے ختم ہونے سے پہلے ہی مولانا شبلی نے خلا کو پُر کر دیا تھا۔ لیکن راہِ سفر عظمت و عزیمت کا ساتھ مولانا شبلی بھی زیادہ دیر نہ دے سکے۔

تاہم تھوڑے دنوں کی اس رفاقت نے ندوہ والوں کے ساتھ مخالفت کا در نہیں تو دریچہ ضرور کھول دیا، جس نے شاید آگے کی رفاقتوں کی راہ بند کر دی۔ مولانا عبدالرزاق ملیح آبادی یا پروفیسر اجمل خاں کی رفاقت کسی بزرگ یا برابر کے درجے کے آدمی کی رفاقت نہ تھی۔ مولانا اس وقت تک اتنے آگے نکل چکے تھے کہ کوئی ان کا رفیق نہیں ہو سکتا تھا۔

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اس پس منظر میں مولانا کے سوانح نگار قاضی عبدالغفار[2] اور ڈاکٹر عابد رضا بیدار[3] مولانا کی "انانیت" کو ان

۱۔ ترجمہ: شدت غم سے روتے روتے ان کی آنکھیں سفید پڑ گئیں اور اس کا سبب غم سے بدبدا تھا۔ سورہ یوسف (۱۲) ۸۴۔ ۲۔ قاضی عبدالغفار آثار ابوالکلام آزاد: ایک نفسیاتی مطالعہ (نئی دہلی: ایجوکیشنل پبلشنگ ہاؤس، ۱۹۸۸ء) ص ۲۲۔ ۳۔ عابد رضا بیدار، خواجہ حالی، ص ۲۲۔ شاید ۱۹۸۸ء کی بات ہے، مولانا کی تفسیر ترجمان القرآن جلد دوم کے بیان (والقرآن) اور بعض دوسرے مقامات پر اور صفحات نے ہندوستان بھر میں لکھنے میں شورش کی سی کیفیت اختیار کر لی تھی۔ بعض اصحاب اسے ہوا دے رہے تھے تاکہ کلکتہ میدان میں مولانا عیدین کی نمازوں کی امامت اور خطبہ کے فرائض سرانجام دیتے آئے تھے اور خود خاص ہو جائیں۔ مولانا ملیح آبادی کا ہفتہ وار ہند، کلکتہ مولوی کی مدافعت کر رہا تھا۔ ایک موقع پر مولانا ملیح آبادی نے مولانا کے اپنے وضاحتی بیان کی ضرورت شدت سے محسوس کی اور مولانا سے اس کے خواستگار ہوئے۔ مفسر قرآن نے ذاتی طور پر اپنی پالیسی اور دوائر ما الظہور ثم کا بیانات قرآنی حل پذیر ہوتے ہوئے اس سے انکار کیا۔ اس کے بعد ملیح آبادی نے اپنا کام کیا اور مولانا کے بیان کو مختصر کر کے اس کی جگہ شائع کر دیا۔ ملیح آبادی کے بیان کا خلاصہ یہ تھا کہ مولانا کے بیان کو ہفت روزہ آگرہ اور ایک تند و تیز اداریہ لکھ کر جس میں مولانا کے مخلص پر سخت تنقید تھی۔ حالی میں مرقوم Abul Kalam Azad: An Intellectual and Religious Biography از Ian Henderson Douglas کے دو فاضل ساتھیوں Gail Minault اور Christian W. Troll کی ترتیب تصحیح اور صفائی کے ساتھ اکسفورڈ یونیورسٹی پریس دہلی نے شائع کیا۔ اس میں مغربی محققوں کو بھی آزاد کی انانیت Egotism بہت کھٹکی ہے۔ اس کا انھوں نے تجزیہ کیا ہے۔

کی نفسیات کا محوری نکتہ سمجھتے ہیں۔ مولانا عبدالرزاق ملیح آبادی کی تحریروں میں بھی اس کی طرف واضح اشارے ملتے ہیں۔ میں نے انتقالِ اقتدار کے زمانے کی طویل صحبتوں میں مولانا کی "انانیت" کا ایک اور رُخ دیکھا ہے۔ انتہائی عجز و انکسار کا رخ۔ مولانا نے اپنے ذاتی ملازم عبداللہ کو ہدایت کر رکھی تھی کہ میں جس وقت بھی آؤں وہ مجھے ان کے کمرے میں پہنچا دیں۔ اور تھوڑے تھوڑے وقفے سے چائے کی پیالی سے تواضع کرتے رہیں۔ (میں نے موں کے ہاں گوری چمبیلی "والی چینی چائے کبھی نہیں دیکھی۔ نہ کبھی خود ان سے، اس کی فرمائش کی۔ میں جانتا تھا کہ یہ مشروب مخصوص ہم مشربوں تک محدود شے ہے۔ مولانا رمدگی کھر میں ڈھونڈتے رہے۔ یہ بھی اس کا ایک کرشمہ تھا۔) مجھے ہدایت تھی کہ میں اپنے دفتر کے اوقات کار کے اندر روزانہ اور اگر یہ ممکن نہ ہو تو ہر دوسرے تیسرے دن حاضری دوں۔ موں ما کے ہاں وفود کا سلسلہ جاری رہتا تھا۔ مجھے یہ حکم تھا کہ کسی اور ملاقاتی یا وفد کے آنے پر ایک طرف ہٹ کے بیٹھا رہوں تاکہ ان کے چلے جانے کے بعد سلسلہ کلام جاری رہے۔ انتقالِ اقتدار کی پیچیدگیوں کی بنا پر مہمات اور پر مولانا کی گفتگوئیں ہوتی تھیں۔ میں ملاقاتیوں کے رخصت ہونے کے بعد یا دوسرے اہم تر مقامات سے مولانا کی واپسی کے بعد دخل در معقولات سے نہیں چوکتا تھا۔ ایک تو ہر خود غلط تھا، دوسرے نوجوانی کا جوش تھا، اور ان پر مستزاد یہ کہ نا ما حوصلہ بڑھاتے تھے۔ میں اکثر مولانا کے اپنے خیالات اور اہم سیاسی فیصلوں پر تنقید کر ڈالتا تھا۔ کبھی کبھی یہ تنقید تلخ بھی ہو جاتی تھی۔ لیکن "انانیت" کے اس دلاویز پہلو کی روش میں یہ کبھی شکن نہیں پڑی بلکہ بسا اوقات تنقید جتنی تیز ہوا ہی قدر ان کی بشاشت میں اضافہ ہوتا تھا۔

پہلے تو میرا خیال یہ تھا کہ ان کی خلقی فروتنی میری اپنی خلقی دوتنی کا نتیجہ ہے۔ مولانا اتنے زیادہ قد آور ہیں، اور میں ان کے مقابلے میں اتنا بونا ہوں، کہ از راہ شفقت مجھ سے ملنے کے لیے انھیں جھکنا پڑتا ہے۔ لیکن ایک دفعہ ایسا واقعہ پیش آیا جس نے مجھے اپنی اس توجیہ میں کسی قدر ترمیم کرنے پر مجبور کیا۔ ہوا یوں کہ کانگریسی حیال کے ایک مسلمان ان کی خدمت میں حاضر ہوئے تحریک پاکستان کا دور تھا۔ کانگریسی ہونے کے سبب وہ مسلمانوں میں معتوب و معصوب ہو چکے تھے۔ ان کا کہنا تھا کہ اس جرم کی پاداش میں ان کی دو جوان بیٹیوں کی نسبت توڑ دی گئی تھی کسی ماں کو اس سے بڑی سزا نہیں مل سکتی ہے۔ وہ بیچارہ بہت دلگیر تھا۔ مولانا نے اسے تسلی، دلاسا دیا جس سے حوصلہ پا کر اس نے مسلم لیگ کے لیڈروں بالخصوص قائد اعظمؒ کی شان میں نازیبا کلمات کہنے شروع کیے۔ مولانا کی آنکھیں بدلنے لگیں۔ چہرے پر سنجیدگی اور خفگی کے آثار نمایاں ہو گئے۔ لیکن وہ اپنی سی کہے گیا۔ آخر مولانا پھٹ پڑے۔ چیخ کر اس سے کہا کہ "اس سارے واقعہ کا صلاح صاحب سے کیا تعلق ہے؟ کیا تم یہ کہتے ہو کہ ان کی شان میں گستاخی کر کے میری خوشنودی حاصل کر لو گے؟ مجھے

تمہاری ان کی شان میں بدگمانی سے سخت تکلیف پہنچی ہے۔ دور ہو جاؤ میری نظروں سے جاؤ، دفع ہو جاؤ، وہ روتا دھوتا چلا گیا۔ نا ہار دیر تک انقباضی کیفیت طاری رہی۔ مولانا کے قائد اعظمؒ سے سیاسی اختلافات تو تھے ہی، وہ نہ صرف سیاست ملکہ ہر معاشرت اور اقدار میں ایک دوسرے کی ضد تھے۔ قائد اعظمؒ نے اپنے یکساں ہی بیان میں مولانا کو "کانگریس کا شو بوائے" کہہ کر ان کی ہاکو سمت ٹھیس پہنچائی تھی۔ اس صورت میں "مانیت پسند" مولانا کا ردِ عمل میرے لیے قابلِ فہم تھا۔

اس واقعہ کا تو میں خود ہی شاہد تھا۔ ایک دوسرا واقعہ میں نے اپنے استاد محترم پروفیسر شیاق حسین قریشی مرحوم سے سنا تھا۔ وہ اس وقت پاکستانی کالج کے رکن تھے۔ وہ فرماتے تھے کہ مولانا ہٹلر بیسٹ کے چند سنگاں کے دورے پر روانہ ہونے والے تھے اس زمانے میں اتنے بے سفر کے لیے ہی دہلی کے ہوائی جہازوں کو کراچی کے ہوائی اڈے پر پڑاؤ لینے کے لیے اترنا پڑتا تھا۔ مولانا دیر تعلیم تھے۔ ہندوستانی کالج کے پیش کش پاکستانی حکومت کو پہلی اطلاع بھیجی گئی۔ قائد اعظمؒ کے مطابق کو ریاست ہیں گزرا تھا۔ ان کے مزار کے گرد جہازوں کی قطاریں تھیں۔ بیرونی ملکوں کے عمائد کے لیے مزار پر حاضری دینا سعادت تھا۔ پروٹوکول میں داخل ہو گیا تھا۔ عمائد کی آمد کے موقع پر قطعیوں کا قانون سے تجاوز ہوتا تھا اور مہمانوں کے لیے سرخ قالین بچھائے جاتے تھے۔ سرکاری حلقے میں یہ تاثر تھا کہ قائد اعظمؒ مولانا کے سب سے بڑے حمایتی ہیں۔ ان کے ساتھ ایسا سلوک کرنا مولانا کی توہین ہوگی۔ ہم نے کراچی کے ہوائی اڈے پر ہندوستانی کالج کے وفد کے استقبال کے لیے وقت پر پہنچ گئے۔ ہوائی اڈے پر ہندوستانی کالج کے وقت دونوں ملک دوست مشترکہ کے رکن تھے۔ موجود تھے۔ مولانا جونہی جہاز سے اترتے ہی ان کی طرف سے ہوا کر رہا تھا کہ قائد اعظمؒ نے ہاتھ بڑھایا۔ مولانا معذرت کی اور کچھ دیر رکنے کی کیفیت میں رہے۔ قائد اعظمؒ کے موقف پر تھے۔ ہندوستانی کالج کے ہوائی جہاز سے سوار ہو کر مصلحتاً صدر کی طرف ہوئے۔ یہ سارے مولانا تھے رہیں سوار ہو کر پیچھے سوار ہو گئے۔ مانیت پسند ہونے کے سبب دیوبند سے ملکہ کے عوام حکومت کے لیے تھوڑی سی تکلیف پیدا کر دی تھی۔

میں نے مولانا کے ٹوٹے ہوئے دل کو ٹوٹے ہوئے دل میں رکھے ہوئے۔ گھر پہنچ کر ہے ہوئی ہوں کی دست و بگریباں ہو گئے۔ پھر میں نے کراچی کے ہوائی اڈے کے بجائے جلوہ کی شان بیان کی۔

۔ مولانا کے تعلق کی تحریر بالا تصنیف میں ماہنامہ ۔۔۔ ۔۔۔ ۔۔۔ میں شائع کی تھی۔ یہ سرخ کی تصویر ہو گئے تھے ہوئے تھے۔

ہیں۔ اس لیے میں نے کسی قدر دراز نفسی سے کام لیا۔

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اب آیئے اس مجموعۂ آثار پر پہلی نظر ڈالیں۔ اس مجموعے میں سب سے پرانی تحریر غالباً ۱۹ اکتوبر ۱۹۰۱ء کے ایک مناظرے کی باسٹھ اشعار پر مشتمل غزل ہے۔ دلچسپ بات یہ ہے کہ اتنے زیادہ اشعار موزوں کر لینے پر بھی حساب آزاد دہلوی کی طبیعت سیر نہیں ہوئی۔ آخری شعر کے بعد اس کے بیان "وغیرہ وغیرہ" کی تکرار ہے۔ عمر کی سب سے پہلی تحریر اس مجموعے میں شاید ۲۸ مئی ۱۹۰۲ء کا محضر سا رقعہ (ص ۷۴) ہے جس میں وقت موعودہ پر اپنے گھر پر موجود نہ ہونے کی پیشگی اطلاع دی ہے۔ مولانا کی بہت سی تحریروں پر تاریخ درج نہیں۔ لیکن قیاس یہ کہتا ہے کہ صدر حال تحریروں ہی اس مجموعے کی قدیم ترین تحریریں ہیں۔ اور ندوۃ العلما لکھنؤ سے لکھا ہوا ۲۰ مئی ۱۹۰۶ء کا خط اس سلسلے کی آخری کڑی ہے (ص ۷۷)

نانا ابا مرحوم و مغفور دو سال قبل یعنی ۱۹۰۴ء میں گلوکوما کے مرض میں مبتلا ہو چکے تھے۔ آنکھوں کی بصارت زائل ہونے لگی تھی۔ بالآخر ۱۹۰۹ء میں وہ حادثہ پیش آیا جس کا ذکر میں اوپر کر آیا ہوں یعنی ہونہار جوان بیٹے کی موت جس نے بصارت سے یکسر محروم کر دیا۔ اغلب یہ ہے کہ یہ المیہ سلسلۂ مراسلت کے منقطع ہونے کا آخری سبب ہے۔ لیکن اتنا یقینی ہے کہ ۱۹۰۹ء تک پہنچتے پہنچتے آزاد اور رنجور کی فکر کی راہیں جدا ہو چکی تھیں

حضرت رنجور عظیم آبادی آخر عمر تک عروس سخن کی مشاطگی میں مصروف رہے۔ انتہائے غم میں تعزیت کی محفلیں ان کے لیے دلچسپی کا سامان فراہم کرتی رہیں۔ اس کے برخلاف حضرت آزاد دہلوی نانا ابا ۱۹۰۴ء کے اوائل میں شعر گوئی ترک کر چکے تھے۔ ایک دلچسپ قطعہ اس مجموعۂ آثار میں شامل ہے جس کے آخر میں وہ لکھتے ہیں کہ "حاکم رسم ہادکہ امروز رقم شد کردم استغفر اللہ استغفر اللہ" (ص ۱۹۰) یوں تو آخر میں نانا ابا بھی اپنی شعر گوئی پر نادم ہو گئے تھے اور اپنا کلام نذر آتش کروا دیا تھا۔ لیکن یہ بہت بعد کی بات ہے۔ مرحوم کے مجموعۂ کلام میں سے صرف چند بیاضیں بچی ہیں۔ ایک بیاض جس میں ایک سو اسی رباعیاں ہیں اور ایک سو "بیاض قطعات تاریخ ہیں"۔ یہ چھوٹے ماموں مولوی محمد حسان جعفری کے ہاتھ کی لکھی ہوئی ہے۔ اس میں بعض اضافے حالاؤں کے ہاتھ کے ہیں۔ یہ نانا مرحوم کی اجازت سے بچائی گئی تھی۔ ماموں مرحوم کے جلسۂ ملازمت پٹنے سے باہر رہنے کی وجہ سے لکھنے پڑھنے کے کاموں میں مدد لینے کے لیے مختلف لوگوں کو نانا ابا مرحوم نے گھر پر رکھ لیا تھا۔ چند بیاضیں ان اصحاب کی کوشش سے محفوظ رہ گئیں۔ ان میں سے اول الذکر بیاض میں بعض قطعات تاریخ مولانا آزاد کے سوانح نگار کے مفید مطلب ہیں۔ تین ان کے بڑے بھائی مولانا ابو المعراۃ کی تاریخ وفات پر ہیں۔ ایک سے مولانا آزاد کی وارت میں اخبار دار السلطنت میکے اجرے تانی

۱۔ ملیح آباد کی آن کی کہانی۔ ص ۹۶-۲۹۷۔

کی تاریخ ملتی ہے۔ ایک اور ہے کے رسالہ لسان الصدق کی شائعت کی تاریخ کلکتہ ہے۔ "احسن اخبار" کا مولانا کی کوئی دلچسپی رہ گئی ہے۔ تحقیق رہ ہے۔ اس کے دفتر کا مامور نے اور حوالہ تحریر رکھ تھا۔ اس کا ذکر مولانا کے خطوں اور تحریروں میں نہیں ہے۔ اس خبر کے مالک دو بڑے کے ملتے کی تاریخ پر دو نقطے ہیں۔ آخر ذکر یہ صورت میں ہے کہ ہم تاریخ کی ایک یہ حاصل ہے پڑھوں۔ رکھ دی تسلیم ہے۔

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مولانا ۱۹۰۰ء میں مولانا تھی کی روانگی اور اس کے بعد خبر رہ گئیں "تو سر کی ادارت کے رستے سے سست سے وابستہ ہو چکے تھے اور اب تحریکات حکومت تحلیلیہ بیان کرنے کے لیے "یہ تم کے طرز میں" تو سب کچھ ہو کے مرحوم زمانہ خبر میں شامل ہو چکے تھے۔ اور حضرت رکھ رہا وہ اصل مقصد کو انجام دینے میں مشغول ہو چکے تھے۔ "اور رکھ کی رہا کے عہد ہونے کا یقین یہ سب سے بڑا سبب تھا۔

○

یہ معلوم ہوتا ہے کہ حضرت مولانا کی رشید طرز کے ازمہ کی وقت میں مولانا تو صادق پور کے مرکز کی تحریک جہاد سے کوئی واقف ہو گئے تھے۔ ان کے تعارف کے ذریعہ وہ حضرت مولانا عبدالرحیم سے بھی مل چکے تھے۔ "تذکرۃ الصادقین" کی طرح کو حضرت مولانا نے ہی کتاب میں شامل کر کے اس خوش پر حضرت کی تحسین ثبت کر دی تھی۔ اس کتاب کی شائعت کے بعد رسالہ لسان الصدق میں جب "تذکرہ" پر ریویو لکھا۔ تو بڑے جوش سے صادق پور کی سرگرمیوں سے ریٹ کا دی تھی۔ اس کے سرکردہ بزرگوں کو کاغذ بھیج دیا تھا۔ جو پکے تھے اور جو اس وقت پکے تھے اور سب تو ہو گئے تھے۔ سب کو تالیف قلوب کے لیے کسی جہاد کے حوالے سے [illegible] صادق پور کے خاندان کی ایک شاخ جو مولانا ولایت علی اور مولانا عنایت علی کے چھوٹے بھائی مولانا

[illegible]

عبداللہ کی اولاد منہم من ینتظر (انتظار کرنے والوں میں سے تھی۔ شمال مغربی سرحد کے علاقہ آزاد میں اسمت اور چمرکند کے مقامات پر ان مستطیعوں نے مجاہدین کی چوکیاں قائم کر رکھی تھیں جنھیں پٹنہ سے مالی امداد اور ضروری ہدایات ملتی رہتی تھیں۔ "تذکرۂ صادقہ" کے مصنف مدستور رہنمائی کر رہے تھے۔ انڈمان کی اسیری اس میں تبدیلی لا سکی تھی نہ لارڈ رپن کی از راہ مرحمت خسروانہ معافی کی کشش اور رہائی۔ وما بدلوا تبدیلا۔ فرق صرف اتنا تھا کہ اب محلہ صادق پور "ڈاکی بنگلہ باغ" کی جگہ محلہ سمبھیہ "ڈاکخانہ گلزار باغ" مرکز تھا حالات نے بے سروسامانی اور مادی سے کہیں زیادہ روحانی توشے کی کمیابی کو انتہائی حدود تک پہنچا دیا تھا لیکن صدقوا ما عاہدوا اللہ علیہ اپنے پروردگار سے جو معاہدہ انھوں نے کیا تھا اس پر صادق پور ہی کے بزرگوں کا شیوہ تھا۔ اور مولانا عبدالرحیم ان ہی بزرگوں میں سے تھے۔ مولانا آزاد جیسے ذہین اور غیر معمولی حافظے کے مالک شخص پر مولانا عبدالرحیم سے ملاقات کے نقوش کا مرتسم ہو جانا یقینی تھا۔

یہ نقوش ۹۲ء میں ابھرے۔ حضرت سید احمد شہیدؒ نے ہاجروا ثم جاہدوا پہلے ہجرت کرو پھر جہاد کی سنتِ نبوی پر عمل کرتے ہوئے بڑے عظیم کا طویل سفر (لانگ مارچ) کر کے سرحد آزاد پر اپنے جہاد کے مرکز قائم کیے تھے۔ یہ طویل اور انتہائی پرخطر سفر مجاہدین کی نیت کے لیے بہت ہی قیمتی ثابت ہوا اور اپنے مرکز کے لیے محل وقوع کے انتخاب میں سید شہیدؒ نے جس مجاہدانہ باغ نظری کا ثبوت دیا تھا اس پر تاریخ شاہد عادل ہے۔ مولانا آزاد نے اس سے سبق سیکھا۔ ۲۰ء میں تحریکِ خلافت و ترکِ موالات میں اکھوئے کی حیثیت، امام الہند ہجرت کا فتویٰ جاری کر دیا۔ طرح ہندستان بالخصوص پنجاب اور سندھ سے مہاجروں کے قافلے در قافلے سرحد آزاد پر پہنچنے لگے۔ مجاہدوں کے مرکزوں سے ہاتھ ہو مہاجروں کا استقبال کیا اور آگے کے سفر کے لیے ان کی رہنمائی کی۔ لیکن یہ مدد و رہنمائی انھیں انتہائی مہنگی پڑی۔ ان کی تحریک سراسر انقلابی تھی۔ جب کہ مولانا آزاد کی تحریک ہجرت اور اس کی معاون تحریکیں سراسر احتجاجی تھیں۔ مجاہدین کی دعوت کی اولین شرط کتمانِ سر (رازداری) تھی اور اس تحریک ہجرت کا خفیہ طریق کار خواہی تھا اور علامہ میرے دادا ابا علیہ الرحمہ کے قول کے مطابق "تشہیری" یہ دونوں تحریکیں اپنے مقصد میں متحد لیکن طریق کار میں ایک دوسرے کی ضد تھیں۔ مہاجروں کے قافلوں کے ساتھ حکومت کے محافظ کی فوج ظفر موج نے دھاوا بول دیا۔ سب تھے، ان

۱۔ یوں تحقیقوں کی خود ساختہ تصنیف [illegible] ہوئے تو مولانا کے پہلے ہی ہجرت کی تحریک جہاد کے نقشے کو اس قدر کامیاب تھی۔ لیکن ان ہی دنوں خلافت اور اس کے خود ساختہ موالات کی تحریک نے مولانا کو ایسا الجھا دیا کہ مقصد ہی بدلتا ہوا نظر آنے لگا۔ ہجرت کے فتوے کے بارے میں ان کی تحقیق یہ ہے کہ ہجرت اور ابو حنیفہ "فرسٹریٹ" شائع ہوتا تھا۔ ان کے دوسرے اخبار "نسرین" کے صاحب پر بزرگوں کے ساتھ رہنمائی کی وجہ پر الحاد کی جبر ملامت کے بعض شذرات سے روشنی پڑتی ہے۔

[illegible]

[illegible]

حضرت مولانا عبدالرحیم نے اس منشورِ مستور کا موسوم بہ اسماعیل شہید کے رسالہ منصب امامت سے حقائق مطالب مفید ہو سکتے ہیں۔ جب اس تربیت و تنظیم کا دور ختم ہوا تو مرحوم نے ترک دنیا کیا۔ تمدن و انگریزی کی کرنے والے صاحب بچھی روٹی کی جمع کی بڑی دولت ہو رہی تھی کہ جس سے دو پیسے صدقے لئے ترے عبدالرحیم ... اور میری والدہ کی ... کے حد بڑے ... ہو گئے۔ یعنی والد تین چھوٹے چھوٹے بچوں کو اپنے پیچھے چھوڑ گئے تھے ہیں میں سب سے بڑا تھا۔ اس سے بہت پہلے میری نانی ... مرحوم سے میری والدہ کی بہت حصہ لیتی تھی اور خود مجھے بلا لیا ساتھ ہو وہ چکی تھیں۔ ... کے دو بچے ... حمید اور سید میں ... والد اور والدہ کی کفالت میں تھے۔ بزرگوں کا مشورہ یہ ہوا کہ ... میوں کی سنت حسن کا جا ... حضرت ... کی دعوت جہاد و اجتہاد کا ایک ہم مقصد تھا لیکن وہ سنت ... بھرہ ... جیل تھی ... رہ ... ساتھ ... مزید ... کیسے ... ہو جائیں؟ ... رہ کر ... ہمیشہ ... کی ... نہیں تو ... مقصد تھیں۔ اس لیے والد مرحوم سے ترک موالات کے بعد ... دل کی ... کا حساب کیا ... دیکھنے کو ... اسے ... یہاں ... سوداگروں کے ... میں ... گریں ہوئے سوداگر بچوں کو حاصل کتابت کے لیے اردو اور انگریزی ... کھاتہ رجسٹر رکھنے کے لیے حساب کتاب ذہنی تعمیر اور اخلاقی تربیت کے واسطے مدرسہ اسلامیہ کے نام سے سکول کھول لیا۔ یہ جو ... نکلا۔ ہو ... ہو تو اب۔ قومی تعلیم و تربیت کے مقاصد بھی پورے ہو رہے تھے اور خود اپنے بچوں کی تعلیم پر ... گراں ... تھی۔ تمدنی بھی ... تھی۔ ہم سب بہت خوش تھے والد مرحوم کے قومی ہمت ... تھے۔ صحت ... تک ... ایک سال ایسا ہوا کہ ... بخار ... میں مبتلا ہو گئے۔ اسکول بیٹھ گیا۔ پردیس چھوٹے چھوٹے بچوں کا ساتھ اور ... تمدنی انتہائی ... آ ... کی یاد ... سامنے آئیں۔ انگریزی علاقہ کے تحفظات یاد آئے۔ لیکن انگریزی ملازمت اصول کی بنا پر ترک کی تھی وہ اصول تو ... لیکن ... کیا جائے؟ والد تو صحت یاب ہو گئے۔ مدرسہ اسلامیہ کو ... سنبھال لیا۔ کام پھر چل نکلا۔ لیکن ... بخار ... پیچھے ... تمدن ... ڈالا۔ کچھ دن ... صاحبوں میں مولانا ابوالکلام آزاد کے دہلی تشریف لانے اور ڈاکٹر انصاری مرحوم کی کوٹھی واقع ... میں مقیم ہونے کی ... جس ... ایسے ... مرحوم چل پڑے۔

اضیاق ... قیام کے ... وقت ... مجھے ساتھ ... اپنے نام کے ... مرحوم ... وحشت

۱۔ ... ۲۔ ... ۳۔ ... ۴۔ ... ۵۔ ... ۶۔ ... ۷۔ ... ۸۔ ... ۹۔ ... ۱۰۔ ... ۱۱۔ ... ۱۲۔ ... ۱۳۔ ... ۱۴۔ ... ۱۵۔ ... ۱۶۔ ... ۱۷۔ ... ۱۸۔ ... ۱۹۔ ... ۲۰۔ ...

[illegible]

کے حقیقی ماموں حضرت مولانا عبدالرحیم نے بجن مومن سے رہائی پائی۔ رحمی اللہ علیہ رحمۃ واسعۃ۔

○

زیرِ نظر مجموعے کے مشمولات کی حد و تحریر ہے۔ نہیں میں نے حتی امکان تاریخ وار ترتیب کر کے حصوں کے لحاظ سے سات حصوں میں منقسم کر دیا ہے۔ پہلے حصے میں تو وہ سخن سے متعلق معلوم و نثری تحریریں ہیں۔ دوسرے حصے میں دینی عقائد سے متعلق خطوط کے لیے مختص ہے۔ میں اوپر ذکر کر چکا ہوں کہ لڑکپن میں نہیں اپنی دیانت اور امانت کے لیے کتنی مہنگی قیمت دینی پڑی تھی۔ اس کی جھلکیاں دوسرے حصے کے خطوط میں دیکھی جا سکتی ہیں۔ بالخصوص وہ طویل خط جس پر "ایڈیٹر" لکھا ہے "مومن کے خرد و تدبر کی دردناک داستان" ہے (ص ۱۸-۲۱)

حضرت مومن کی ذہنی شکیل کے دو اہم ترین عنصر تھے: عدم تقلید اور رواداری۔ ان عناصر کا ظہور ان کے نہ صرف مذہبی بلکہ سیاسی و سماجی رجحانات میں بھی نمایاں تھا۔ رواداری اور بے تعصبی کا سبق نہوں نے کچھ دیر سے سیکھا تھا۔ روشنیِ آمانے عراق کے سنے خوش نے ان میں نزع زمانہ میں عصبیت پیدا کر دی تھی۔ ۹۲ء میں "احسن الاجابہ" میں ان کے مضمون "عنوان اسلام اور مجوس" کی اشاعت اس کی واضح مثال ہے۔ مولانا عبدالرزاق ملیح آبادی راوی ہیں کہ خود مولانا کو یہ اعتراف تھا کہ نہوں نے یہ مضمون "چونکہ عین عدالت کی برگشتگی میں لکھا تھا" اس لیے اس میں شک نہیں کہ بحث و نظر کے یک متحمل اور سماج، اسلوب کی جگہ تلخی اور شدت بیان پہنچی تھا۔ "آگے چل کر مجوس کے مذہب و رسوم کے بارے میں کہتے ہیں کہ اس مضمون میں لوگوں کی مخالفت کر کے یک شدید لب و لہجہ میں اس پر زجر و توبیخ کی تھی۔" نہیں غلطی کے اس احساس کے لیے نہیں کن مرحلوں سے گزرنا پڑا ہوگا کچھ اندازہ ہی تھا۔ دوسرے حصے کے صفحہ آخر کے خطوط سے لگایا جا سکتا ہے۔ اس قصیے کو رفع دفع کرنے میں حساب ناظم شیراز کے لیے بہت مدد گار ثابت ہوئی تھیں۔ یہ فاضل خدا ترس اور ظریف مرزا کلکتہ میں شعبۂ فارسی کے سربراہ اور نامور مورخ کے رفیق کار اور معترف و مسوس تھے۔

صحافت کے حصے والے خطوط کا بیس مطلع میں نے اپنی بڑی حالانہ خود نحو النساء، جس کی شعفت کی کوہ میں میں پلا بڑھا ہوں کی زبانی سنا ہے۔ وہ کہا کرتی تھیں کہ "لسان الصادق" کے خرچ کے زمانے میں گھر میں کار خانہ سا کھلا رہتا تھا جس کے دفتری کاموں میں مجھے، ماں، ابا، خود اور وہ خود بڑھ بڑھ کر حصہ لیتی تھیں۔ مجھے بھول کی جس اس تھک محنت کی یک دلی یادگار کے نام ایک خط رہ گیا ہے جو اس مجموعے میں شامل ہے (ص ۶۳)

۱۔ [illegible]

[illegible] مخطوطوں کا ذکر [illegible] ہے [illegible] بڑے [illegible] مخطوط [illegible] تھے۔ دو کا کو [illegible] کے [illegible] کے [illegible] تھے۔ کامیاب [illegible] تھے۔ [illegible] کو [illegible] میں خدمت خلق کرتے ہوئے [illegible] جان دی۔

خدا انھیں [illegible] رحمت کرے۔

خدمۂ تعلیم و تصنیف: [illegible] ہوئی [illegible] ٹھوس [illegible] شاعری کا ثبوت [illegible] قلمی [illegible] تھا۔ [illegible] سلطان شاہ جہاں پوری کو [illegible] مخطوطات [illegible] تھے [illegible] ان [illegible] ہیں [illegible] ہیں۔ [illegible] اردو [illegible] اردو [illegible] اردو [illegible] ہے [illegible] اردو [illegible] ہے [illegible] اردو [illegible] ہے

زیرِ بحث چوتھے حصّے کے آخری خط کی پشت پر مولانا عبدالرزاق مصنف الرمکی کے نام خط کا پہلا صفحہ ہے جو وہ کا الگ حصہ موجود نہیں۔ شاید یہ کسی نام کے خط کا مسودہ تھا جسے نظر انداز کر دیا گیا اور مسودہ حضرت رنجور کے علم میں لایا گیا۔

مولانا آرہ کو ابی الولوالعزمی اور آزادہ روی کی بڑی بھاری قیمت ادا کرنی پڑی جس کا ذکر میں نے مقالہ کے سلسلے میں کر چکا ہوں۔ اس کے سبب مالی محاذ سے انھیں جن مشکلات کا سامنا کرنا پڑا ان کا اندازہ ان خطوط سے کیا جا سکتا ہے جو پانچویں حصّے "مالی معاملات" میں شامل ہیں۔

چھٹے حصّے "قیس رواالط" میں میرے نزدیک اس خزانے کے سب سے قیمتی جواہر پارے ہیں۔ آرہ نانا کے اندازہ محبت کرنے والے اور اشتہائی رقیق القلب انسان تھے۔ ان میں اثر اندازی اور اثر پذیری دونوں کی بے پناہ صلاحیتیں تھیں۔ اثر پذیری اور حساس طبعی کے آثار چھٹے حصّے کے خطوط میں خصوصیت کے ساتھ نمایاں ہیں۔ ان میں سے دو میں آرہ کے سوانح کا ذکر ہے۔ یہ اشارہ ہے حضرت مولانا ابراہیم آروی کے انتقال کی طرف۔ میری والدہ ماجدہ کے رشتے کے نانا تھے۔ آرہ سوگوار خاندان سے تعزیت کے لیے لکھنؤ سے سفر کر کے پٹنہ پہنچے تھے۔ مولانا حضرت مولانا عبدالرحیم سے ان کی ملاقات اسی موقع پر ہوئی۔ جناب رنجور نے جب بوقت رخصت ان کے آنے پر اظہار تشکر کیا تو اس کے جواب میں جس والہانہ انداز میں انھوں نے اپنے ردِ عمل کا اظہار اس حصّے کے تیسرے خط (ص ۶۹) میں کیا ہے وہ ان کی عالی ظرفی کی روشن مثال ہے۔ مولانا ابراہیم آروی کی تاریخ وفات کے قطعات کلام رنجور کی مدکورہ بالا جلد میں درج ہیں۔

ساتویں حصّے "متفرقات" میں بیشتر خطوط ظریفانہ فرمائشات پر مشتمل ہیں۔ مولانا "گستاخ" کر کے ہمیشہ تو مارتو۔ "گستاخ" کی لطافتوں سے بھرپور آشنا تھے۔ خود میں ان کے ساتھ بہت گستاخ تھا اس لیے کہ وہ گستاخی پسند کرتے تھے۔ اس شوخی کی پُرلطف تھلیاں دیوانِ نثاخ کی آیس کی نوک جھونک کی شکل میں اخذ آتی ہیں جو اس حصّے کے چند خطوط میں موجود ہیں۔

اس حصّے کے دو خطوں میں تانکی پور لائبریری، احد بخش اور منشی ملک لائبریری کی فہرست کے لیے اعداد کا اظہار ہے جس سے ظاہر ہوتا ہے کہ اپنے عنفوانِ شباب ہی سے انھیں اس عظیم دیرینہ ثروت خزینۂ علم سے تعلق خاطر تھا۔ وہ اپنے ۱۰ مئی ۱۹۰۳ء کے خط (ص ۷۹) میں لکھتے ہیں:

"تانکی پور لائبریری کے [کی] فہرست کی تلاش ضروری ہے۔ اسکی مجھے سخت ضرورت ہے۔ اگر مل جوئے تو نقل ہی کرا لیجیے اجرت دے دی جائے گی۔"

تقریباً ایک مہینے بعد، جون کے پوسٹ کارڈ (ص ۸۰) میں یاد دہانی کرتے ہوئے لکھتے ہیں:

[illegible] کی بورڈ ٹائپ ری کی دست [illegible] ہے۔ عمل ہے تو ہے ورنہ خلل کرے گا۔ مجھے اس کی محنت و [illegible]
حق [illegible] رسید۔ مولانا ابوالکلام آزاد کے [illegible] کے [illegible] کرنے کا [illegible] ہے۔ [illegible] سے
[illegible] ہو۔ اس کے لیے اس کے ڈائرکٹر [illegible] مستحق [illegible] ہیں۔ انھوں نے [illegible] کو
[illegible] میں [illegible] کا ثبوت دیا ہے اس سے [illegible] کی [illegible] ہے۔ [illegible] خطوط کے پڑھنے
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ہے کہ [illegible] ۱۹۰۰ تک [illegible] معروف [illegible] میں [illegible] کرتے تھے [illegible] دلچسپ [illegible] بات
یہ ہے کہ ایک سال [illegible] ۲۵ [illegible] ۱۹۰۴ کے مکتوب میں [illegible] کے [illegible] کو [illegible] لکھے [illegible]
[illegible] دیتے ہیں [illegible] ۱۹۳۳ [illegible] صرف [illegible] کے [illegible] سے [illegible] کے [illegible]
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[illegible] ہے۔ ایک [illegible] لکھا [illegible] سے [illegible] کر [illegible] بات
[illegible] ہے [illegible] کی [illegible] ہے [illegible] کے لیے اس کا [illegible] کہنے [illegible]
[illegible] کے [illegible] رکھتے ہیں [illegible] ہے کہ [illegible] میں بھی [illegible] کریں گے۔

[illegible] ہے کہ [illegible] کے [illegible] کے [illegible] اور
[illegible] کی [illegible] محنت [illegible] اور [illegible] سے [illegible] کی [illegible] ہوئے ہی [illegible] میں [illegible]
ہے [illegible] کی اس کے [illegible] کے لیے [illegible] ہیں [illegible] کروں گا۔

جزاکم اللہ احسن الجزاء

[illegible] کے لیے دل کی [illegible] سے [illegible] کے [illegible] کا [illegible] کرنے [illegible]
[illegible] دینے کو [illegible] ہیں [illegible] ہے۔ [illegible] نے [illegible] کی [illegible] کی [illegible]
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[illegible]
[illegible] ۲۰۰۵ء
[illegible] اسلام آباد پاکستان

آثارِ آزاد

حضرت مولانا ابوالکلام آزادؒ

کے

اوائل عمر کی چند تحریریں

مرتبہ

سید فاضل حسین

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شعر و سخن

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بر طرح طرح

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قطعه فی الجبر

برخیز ای عجوز !

گرچه ز وصل خلق رهانیدمت چو برق — از درد عشق مرا چرا کشتی هوا نمی‌بینی !

هر چند وصل بی‌هوا تو بر کشی ز بینی — کز بی‌هوا تو بینی آنان نمی‌بینی !!

یعنی فی الجمله نتیجه بر کنار تو نمی‌!! — من بی‌وقت هستم ! جانا من تو آنان نمی‌بینی !

"وقت" گفتی هر چه ! بیچاره ! اگر بر تو کو ! — پیش تو "وقت" تیسیر کی هر آنان نمی‌بینی !

ادرک میسر هر ! تو پیر قدر ادرک قدر ادرک ! — کز جوانان تو پیر حشر ملک آنان نمی‌بینی !

من تو هستم "وقت" ملوگر تو نیست بجز ! — من بی‌بجا هستم نیست وقت که جانان نمی‌بینی !

آه و فغان "آنها" بجز نیست بجز الله ! — پیر زنان بجز "ابجز" ! که آنان نمی‌بینی

ابجد من الله

خاک بر سر باد که امروز باز نمی‌شود کردی استغفرالله ۱۹ مستغفرالله !

دینی عقائد

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میں اپنے خاندان سے ہمیشہ نفرت رکھتا رہا ہوں۔ بہت ضبط کیا اپنے تاثرات کو چھپاتا رہا ہوں۔ مجبور ہوں۔ آگے کیوں نہ کہوں! یہ بھی ایسی مصلحت ہے جیسے قیامت تک ہوگی۔ اور اور مذہب کی تعریف کیوں نہ کروں۔ مسلمانوں کی حالت تو پیش نظر ہے۔ اور ثابت قدمی سب سے عالیشان اور اخلاق کی بات ہے۔ بلاغ میں تو جھوٹ ہے اور اس کے بھی جیسے اب نہیں ہو سکتا۔ سبب اس نفرت کو ظاہر کرنے کا یہ ہے کہ میں بھی ہے۔ واقعہ یہ ہے کہ میں نے مسلمان ہونا اختیار کر لیا ہے۔ مذہب اسلام اور توحید کی محبت میرا ہو گیا ہے۔ میں نے سنا ہے کہ اس کی اصلیت پر ایمان ہے۔ مصیبت اللہ کی ہے اور اپنے اختیار میں ہے۔ اگر شیخ آزاد ہوتا اور بیوی بچوں اور عقائد کا کسی روک نہ ہوتا تو میں پیروی کرتا۔ اور میں اپنے عقائد و رسم و رواج کا رہا ہوں۔ اگر مجھے مصیبت آئی اسلام کی محبت میں تو میں اور اس کی بیوی اور اولاد کو بھی قتل کر دوں گا۔ اور اس پر ایمان لانے والوں کو بھی قتل کر دوں گا۔ اور اس کے بعد میں سنگ و عار سمجھتے ہیں۔ اور اس کی محبت میں جان دینے کو تیار ہوں۔

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۶-۱۰-۵۳

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صحافت

مشرقی افریقہ کے وحشی

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بات یہ ہے کہ جب بھی کوئی نیا نواب صاحب سنگی کا روپیہ شہر والوں کو بخشتا ہے۔
اول تو روپیہ سے زیادہ پیشتر خرچ ہو جاتا ہے اور نوابزادے پر کچھ اور ہی بوجھ
کر جاتا ہے۔ روپیہ اگر ایک بیسا زیادہ خرچ ہو جائے تو ایک مرتبہ سوچا ہے جیسے کہ زندگی کی فضول
ہے۔ معلوم ہوتا ہے کہ ہر نواب صاحب یہ آرزو کرے کہ تجوری کے اندر زیادہ بھر جائے
اور یہ اور خزانے کی بات ہے۔ کبھی کبھی روپیہ مگر اتنا خیال اور وقت اور دوسرے تعلق ہی
اس میں۔ زیادہ تو یہ سمجھ کر کہ اگر آپ کو اس قدر ہے کہ جب روپیہ بھی ہے گا
اور اگر آپ کو پیسے کا تو نہ ہوگا۔ تو بلا تکلف سنگی روپیہ مگوائیں
اور مستعمل تو بنے ہوئے کام ایک ہی آنا اور لوگوں سے۔ تو اسی طرح یہ نہ کہا کہ ہوتا
کہ روپیہ کی کمی ہے پورا کر لیں۔ روپیہ جاتا ہے تو کمی کیوں تو نہ ہو
گا۔ اگر آپ نواب صاحب تو بلا تکلف سنگی مگوائیں جب نواب صاحب ہیں مگر معلوم تو ہو
کہ خزانہ نہ بیشتر ہے۔

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موجودہ پتہ

بمبئی۔ بلاسس روڈ۔ نیو بلڈنگ پوسٹ بائکلہ

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بازار بھیجے۔ امرتسر کے بازار دفتر وکیل مسٹر ایس۔ ایم
سفیع۔ لوار سالیگ۔ اور نیز ان دو پتوں پر
مرد ہے۔ محلہ پیرزادگان۔ مولوی شاہ حسین "آشیم" امروہہ۔
دہلی۔ درگاہ حضرت نظام الدین۔ مولوی حسن نظامی صاحب
ہاتھ توشہ خانہ حضرت محبوب الٰہی۔

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20. تمام۔ یہ خط دو تین مرتبہ دیکھئے۔ محبت ما خیال و درہ
نوخر مبادلہ۔ ان لوگوں کو پڑھ کے

اپنا بالہ محبوب الکلام و دبیر آصفی۔ افضل گنج حیدرآباد
لکھنؤ کو گنج۔ اپنا "الحلم" ۔ ایضاً۔ دار العلوم ندوہ کھلا
ہوا دیکھے۔ منجر بطانہ ہو بو دمبادلہ کیجئے۔ باقی پر
اوپر لکھا

بمبئی - جیمس روڈ - پوسٹ بکس ۱۰۰ - بنو بلڈنگ - ۱۰ اگست

برادر

تو پیارا خط اور اجنبی رات کے بجے پہنچا
دیکھا بورچ ہیں : ماں نے بھی دیکھا - اور اپنے خط
خط کا جواب بھی - بنو کو اب جیلی کرنا آ گیا اور خط
کی رسید بھیج دی گئی - بیاہ کی تاریخ - اور اس کے بعد خط
بھیجا کرنا - ریہرسل - بنو کو ملے ایک فیصلہ
خط کا ارسال ہوگا - ماہانہ ایک ہزار جب کہ
برابر بہت غلط نہ ہوگا - بیاہ سے پہلے جو حصہ
دیا ہوا ہے - بنو کو اور اب - ہاں روپیہ کی کھنچوائی
پر خوش ہے - اور

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INDIA POST CARD

THE ADDRESS ONLY IS TO BE WRITTEN ON THIS SIDE

Calcutta

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[illegible] ہے ۔ [illegible] ہے ۔ میں [illegible]

[illegible] کو جوں جوں [illegible] ایک [illegible] کر دی جائیں

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POST CARD.

جناب مولوی یوسف صاحب مصوری

۱۲ نمبر تار اپنہ دت اسٹریٹ

کلکتہ

Calcutta

Bhajandal Gorunika Kalbadevi Bombay. All kinds goods can be supld. moderate price.

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قطعۂ تاریخ تالیف حیات حکیم خاقانی شروانی
از تصنیفات صدیقی و حبیبی مولانا محی الدین
احمد صاحب آزاد دہلوی از اثر خامۂ محمد یوسف
جعفری رنجور عظیم آبادی جیف مولوی بورڈ آف اگزامینرز پٹنہ

خاقانی باکمال کا حال — اُسی پر لطف بیان آزاد
جو لفظ ہی بصری کی ڈلی ہے — کیا شیریں ہی زبان آزاد
صفحے ہیں تمہارے گل ہیں — کہیے اسے گلستان آزاد
گو ہند میں ہیں بہت سخنور — ہی سب سے نرالی شان آزاد
بہرہ ہی نہیں انھیں سخن سے — ہیں جو کہ نہ قدر دان آزاد
آزاد کو حق رکھے سلامت — برباد ہو دشمنان آزاد
ہو نشو و نما یہ یا الٰہی — دائم فکر جوان آزاد
ہر دم رہے باڑھ پر عطایا — آب طبع روان آزاد
تاریخ کی فکر اگر ہی رنجور — لکھدو "ہی ارمغان آزاد"

۱۳۲۰ھ

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جناب [illegible] صاحب

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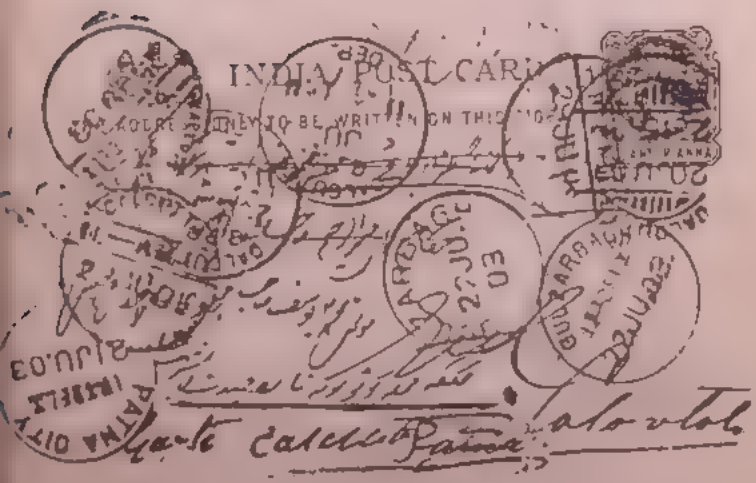
قلبی روابط


INDIAN POST CARD
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ڈاکٹر نذیر احمد
[illegible]

حیدرآباد کا پرانا نام: بھاگ نگر

افسانہ یا حقیقت

[illegible]

[illegible]

احمد نگر، بیجاپور، گولکنڈہ کے سلاطین کے تعلقات ان کے مشاغل، ان کے عادات و نقصانات، ان کے بعض دوسرے اہم امور کے ساتھ خط و کتابت کے سلسلے میں اقتصادی حالات اور فوجی نوجوانوں سے برداشت حاصل کرنے کے لیے بھیجے ہیں۔ اس عاضداشت سے معلوم ہوتا ہے کہ فیضی نے سلطنت کا کام بخوبی خوش اسلوبی سے انجام دیا تھا۔ یہ عاضداشت فی الحال موجودہ دور کے لیے نمونہ بن سکتی ہے۔ اس میں ذہانت یہ ہے کہ فیضی نے اس طرح کہا کہ کوئی بات ایسے انداز میں جو بادشاہ کی خاطر نہیں ہوتی ہیں ان کی عاضداشت بھی ہوتی ہے۔ یہ عاضداشت نثر کی فیضی میں شامل ہے۔ اس میں کئی جگہ میں بعض تاریخی باتیں درج ہیں۔ یہ بھی ہے کہ محمد قلی قطب شاہ نے بھی لکھ کر دی تھی۔ یہ ایک جگہ فیضی لکھتے ہیں:

"برہان نظام ملک سے کہ حضرت عالی کے دولت خانہ کی خدمت میں پرورش پا چکا ہے، چار و ناچار ہوئے عادل خاں کی جاگیر پر قابض ہو گئے۔ تدبیر سے عادل خاں کے دفعیہ پر تیار ہے۔ عادل خاں بھی اپنے ملک میں ہے اور ہر طرح سے مستعد ہے۔ ایک شاہزادہ کی سرکردگی میں فوج بھیجنے کے لیے تیار کیا ہے۔ ... دیگر یہ کہ عادل خاں کا حکم پیش پر ہے۔ اصل بات وہ بھی عادل خاں کا بھیجتے ہیں۔ ... معلومات سے خالی نہیں۔ حضرت کے دربار سے غایت ارادت رکھتے ہیں۔ ان کی جو اس کو تربیت یا مذہب مذہب سنی رکھتا ہے۔ دونوں نے اس سے مرتبہ سلوکی کی۔ اس وقت نظام ملک کے پاس ہے۔ محمد قلی قطب الملک شیعہ مذہب کے پابند ہیں۔ اس سے جنگ کرنے کا ایک سبب ہے۔ اس میں خود میں یہ ایک بڑی فوج اور ان کی ایک مستورہ بھاگ گئی ہے۔ ان کی عورت خاوند دو حصے جو ان تھیں [نظام شاہی عادل شاہی اور قطب شاہی سلاطین] کے خیال میں یہ وہ تو دوسرے راجاؤں کے پاس میں درخواست پس کے تعلقات موجود ہیں۔ ان کے بعض نظر یہ دشمن ہیں اور گرچہ درمیان خدمت کی حضور کی خدمت میں فیضی عاضداشت پیش ہو گی۔ بندہ پیوستہ ملک خود میں خیال کیا ہے۔ اصل بات یک بارگی خدمت مبارک میں موکب کے ان طرف میں پہنچے گا۔ یہ خیال جب عالی سے یہ تو کہ نہایت فطرت زندگی نظر آتی ہے۔ اس سے یہ مقصود فوز پذیر ہو گا۔

نسیم صبح ملک افتاں و خیزاں می آید مژدہ قرب قبول بہ شہ خواہد آمد"

فی الحال اس عاضداشت سے اس حصے سے تعلق ہے کہ بھاگ نگر میں محمد قلی قطب شاہ کا آباد کردہ شہر

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

وہ ۲۲ سال کا ہوگا۔

[illegible] کا تذکرہ ہے۔ تاریخ کا ذکر [illegible] سے معلوم ہوتا ہے [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

- [illegible]

[illegible]

ثانی میں اس کی تخت نشینی ۹۸۹ھ بتائی گئی ہے۔ اس حساب سے ۱۰۰۰ھ تک اس کو ۱۲ سال حکومت کرتے ہوئے گزرے تھے۔

● قیمہ ہی مشہور زمانہ خدا بخش صوفی مورخ کا ہے۔ وہ ۱۰۰۰ھ تک کے ذیل میں قطب شاہی تاریخ کا ذکر کرتے ہوئے قطب شاہی کا دور قطب شاہی خلافت کے بارے میں جو کچھ لکھتے ہیں، اس کی ایک مختصر عبارت نقل کرتے ہوئے [illegible] مذکورہ چار کی کے فیصلے پر [illegible] بلیاں [illegible] جاگ نگر نام [illegible] بازار نہایت وسیع اور صاف [illegible] اور [illegible] ہے۔ [illegible] ہے۔ [illegible] ہے۔

[illegible]

"بھاگ نگر کے نزدیک پہنچنے پر [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

اس سلسلے میں چند امور قابل غور ہیں۔

[illegible]

اب آباد کر دیا گیا۔

[illegible] اس لئے کہ خود دشت کے پہلے

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] حیدرآباد کے بعض تاریخی دستاویز [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

"[illegible] حیدرآباد [illegible] ۱۰۰۰ [illegible] ۲۶-۲۶ [illegible] ۱۰۰۰ [illegible] ۱۰۰۰ [illegible] ۱۰۰۰

[illegible]

● [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[

[illegible] کے ساتھ وہ [illegible] تھی اس کی خواہش پر سے تھا
کو اس کے [illegible] کر دیا [illegible] جلد بھاگ نگر کی قوت ہوگی۔ اب سلطان محمد قلی کے زمانہ میں
بھاگ نگر [illegible] فتح ہو گیا تو اس کا نام بدل کر حیدرآباد رکھ دیا گیا۔

● [illegible] محمد [illegible] ۹۰ ہجری میں منتخب التواریخ میں [illegible]
اور [illegible] بیانات سے [illegible] ہے۔

● حدیقۃ العالم [illegible] ۱۲۱۴ھ میں [illegible] محمد قطب شاہ کے مخزن کے [illegible] منتقل کر دیے گئے
ہیں [illegible] محمد قطب شاہ [illegible] صرف بھاگ نگر کے نقشے [illegible]
[illegible] حدیقہ کی [illegible] کا [illegible] دینے میں [illegible] ہوں گے۔

● تاریخ فرشتہ ۱۲۴۵ھ میں [illegible] بھاگ نگر کے متعلق یہ اطلاع دی ہے۔

"محمد قلی قطب شاہ [illegible] ۹۹۸ھ [illegible] تاریخ قطب شاہی
فرشتہ [illegible] محمد قطب شاہ [illegible] بھاگ نگر [illegible]
[illegible] بھاگ نگر [illegible] حیدرآباد [illegible]
[illegible] گفتہ:

[illegible] محمد قلی شاہ [illegible]
[illegible] حیدرآباد کرد [illegible] کرد

اس بیان سے [illegible] پہلے بھاگ نگر تھا [illegible] اس کے بعد اس کا نام حیدرآباد رکھا گیا۔ لیکن
اس سے یہ پتہ چلتا ہے کہ حیدرآباد [illegible] تاریخ ۹۹۸ ہے۔ اس حساب سے بھاگ نگر کی بنیاد ۹۹۸ [illegible]
یعنی ۹۸۲ ہوگی۔ یہ سارے بیانات کے خلاف ہے۔ بھاگ نگر کی بنیاد کی تاریخ [illegible] ہے۔

● گلزار آصفی (تالیف ۱۲۵۸ھ) میں ہے۔

"در عہد [illegible] قطب شاہ [illegible] بسبب تعلق شہزادہ [illegible] محمد قلی کہ [illegible]
بھاگ نگر [illegible] حقیقت [illegible] مذکور [illegible] محمود [illegible]
[illegible] محمد [illegible] مذکورہ [illegible] بلدہ حیدرآباد [illegible]
[illegible] محمد [illegible] روز [illegible] خود [illegible] محمود [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

ڈاکٹر زور صاحب پھر لکھتے ہیں:

"بھاگ نگر یا حیدرآباد کی بنیاد کے متعلق کچھ قیاسی کے باوجود قوم سے متعلق کہ محمد قلی قطب شاہ نے بھاگ نگر کا نام خدیجہ قلی قطب شاہ کے نام پر رکھا ہے۔ [illegible] کے مصنف نے بھاگ متی کے قصے کو ملا کر یہ لکھا ہے کہ اس میں خدیجہ قلی قطب شاہ کی [illegible] بھاگ متی [illegible] کے [illegible] بھاگ نگر [illegible] تصفیہ [illegible] وقت ہو سکے گا جب حیدرآباد کے قطب شاہی تاریخیں [illegible] اور خدیجہ قلی کا مکمل کام [illegible] کے گا۔ [illegible] موجودہ تاریخوں کے ساتھ [illegible] ہے کہ [illegible] خوب بھاگ [illegible] بھاگ متی خدیجہ قلی سے [illegible] بھاگ نگر [illegible]

[illegible] دکن کے [illegible] قطب شاہی [illegible] بھاگ متی یک [illegible] خدیجہ قلی قطب شاہ [illegible] بھاگ نگر اس کے [illegible] اس کا خیال ہے کہ بھاگ نگر [illegible] کا نام پڑا [illegible]

شروانی صاحب کی تردید میں

پروفیسر [illegible] شروانی صاحب نے بھاگ متی کا [illegible] کے [illegible] سے [illegible] قصے کا ایک [illegible] ۶ قصے کے دو نتیجوں کے [illegible] ہے۔ [illegible] ایک [illegible] بھاگ متی کے قصے کو [illegible] بتایا گیا ہے اور دوسری طرف حیدرآباد کے [illegible] بھاگ نگر کی محبت سے [illegible] کیا گیا ہے۔ شروانی صاحب کا خیال ہے کہ خدیجہ قلی فرشتہ نے [illegible] داستان کے لیے [illegible] ہے اور [illegible] نے [illegible] طرح [illegible] کر کے ایک دلچسپ [illegible] داستان [illegible] کر دی ہے۔ ان کے استدلال [illegible] ہیں:

"[illegible] حیدرآباد [illegible] کے [illegible] بھاگ متی [illegible] بھاگ نگر کی طرف [illegible] [illegible] کو [illegible] مصنف [illegible] حیدرآباد

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] پردا خت" ص ۵۹۲۔

لیکن [illegible] ۱۰۰۵ھ میں [illegible] تحریر [illegible] ۵۹۳ تا ۶۳۲ صفحات پر پھیلا ہوا ہے۔

[illegible] تحریر سے غلط فہمی پیدا ہوئی، ترقیمہ ملاحظہ ہو:

"تمت ہذا الکتاب [illegible] ۱۰۳۸

۱۰۳۸ سنہ کی تاریخ [illegible] ۵۹۲ صفحات خود [illegible] کتاب [illegible] اللہ کے قلم سے ہیں۔ ان کی کتابت کی تاریخ ۱۰۰۳ھ ہے۔ یہ عبارت ملاحظہ ہو:

"[illegible]

[illegible] صاحب [illegible] صحیح نہیں کہ [illegible] کے [illegible] کے ساتھ [illegible] کے [illegible]

[illegible] سلاطین گولکنڈہ [illegible] سلاطین قطب شاہی [illegible] ۹۹۹ھ [illegible] ۱۰۰۵ھ

[illegible] قطب شاہی حکمرانوں کا ذکر [illegible] آگیا ہے، محمد قلی قطب شاہ کا حال اس [illegible] ہے

"ذکر [illegible] محمد قلی قطب شاہ [illegible] سلطنت و [illegible]

قطب [illegible] محمد قلی قطب شاہ [illegible] سلطنت و جہانداری"

[illegible] سلطنت [illegible] ۹۹ھ میں واقع ہوا [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

"طبقات اکبری کے متعلق یہ بات قابل لحاظ ہے کہ اس کا مؤلف محمد قلی کے علاوہ دوسرے خاندان محمد کو صرف ایک فقرے میں ختم کر دیتا ہے۔ محمد علی (کذا) قطب الملک بن ابراہیم قائم مقام پدر شد و بر پدر تری بھاگ متی نام عاشق شدہ ... قطب شاہی خاندان خصوصاً محمد قلی قطب شاہ کی قومی و تمدنی میں وہ دلسوزی سے کہیں بڑھ جاتا ہے ... نظام الدین کو تو بادشاہ کا صحیح نام بھی معلوم نہیں، تاریخ کے بجائے تاریخ تو درکنار سے یہ بھی معلوم نہیں کہ سلطان ۹۸۸ھ میں تخت پر بیٹھا تھا نہ کہ ۹۹۳ھ میں۔ تعصب سے بھرے ہوئے ایسے بیان کو تاریخی واقعات کی بنیاد کیسے قرار دیا جا سکتا ہے۔"

تو فاروقی صاحب کا یہ استدلال منطقی ربط سے خالی نظر آتا ہے۔ فرماتے ہیں نظام الدین صاحب طبقات اکبری، بادشاہ کی تذلیل کرتا ہے، زہر تذلیل یہ کہ اس نے بھاگ متی کے قصے کا ذکر کر دیا۔ اسی وجہ سے فاروقی صاحب اس کے تعصب سے بھرے ہوئے قول کی تائید نہیں کر سکتے۔ اگر اس واقعہ کی تصدیق ہو جائے کہ بھاگ متی کا قصہ صحیح ہے تو وہ توہین تذلیل باقی رہے اور نہ بیان تعصب سے بھرا ہوا۔ یہ طرز استدلال واقعہ کی توثیق یا تکذیب کے سلسلے میں منطقی ہے اور کسی بنا پر قابل ترک۔ اس پر ثبوت کی ضرورت تھی کہ وہ غلط ہے اور اس کا بیان کرنے والا متعصب۔

بادشاہ کے نام کے تعین کے بارے میں، ۱۰۰۲ھ میں اس کی مدت حکومت کے غلط لکھنے کا سوال، تو اس میں یہی بات تو منطقی قابل توجہ نہیں، وہ فرماتے ہیں کہ نظام الدین اس کا نام "محمد قلی" کے بجائے "محمد علی" لکھتا ہے، دراصل یہ ایسی نہیں، طبقات اکبری ایشیاٹک سوسائٹی کے مطبوعہ نسخے میں ہر جگہ اس کا نام محمد قلی ہی ہے، یہی نام اس کے انگریزی ترجمے میں بھی پایا جاتا ہے۔ اگر کسی نسخے میں ایک جگہ محمد علی مل گیا تو اس کو مصنف کے سر منڈھنے کا کوئی ادنیٰ جواز نہیں، یہ چھاپے یا کتابت کی غلطی ہے، مصنف کی غلطی اور کتاب کی غلطی میں فرق کرنا ضروری ہے، ورنہ ایسی تحقیق جس میں کتاب کی غلطیاں مصنف کی بنا کر حاصل قابل توجہ نہیں ہوگی۔ دور کیوں جائیے، برہان مآثر میں بھی ایک جگہ محمد قلی کے بجائے محمد علی لکھا ہے کیا اس کی بنا پر مؤلف برہان پر یہ الزام دھر سکتے ہیں کہ وہ سلطان کے نام سے واقف نہیں؟ برہان مآثر کی عبارت یہ ہے:

"کامگاری کی رسول اللہ المؤید من اللہ ابو المظفر محمد علی قطب شاہ ..." (ص ۱۰)

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

(محمد قلی قطب ملک تشیع در زمانہ ما خرد و عمارت بزرگ خرد بھاگ نگر مراد بنا
بھاگ نگر کہ خرد کہنہ و مشہور قدیم دست بنا کردہ، ص ۱۰۰)۔

ان چھ صفحات میں سب سے پہلی عہد داشت بھی ہے جو ص ۳۹ تا ۴۵ چھپی ہوئی ہے، یہ عہد داشت دربار اکبری میں چھپ چکی ہے اور ص ۳۹، ۴۰، ۴۱ تک حاوی ہے، مولانا شبلی نعمانی نے ۲ میں اس کے ضروری قسم سات اس کی اہمیت کے ص ۳۹ تا ۴۰ درج کر چکے ہیں اس کے علاوہ علامہ آزاد بلگرامی نے سرو آزاد میں فیضی کی سفارت اور عہد داشت کا ذکر اس طرح کیا ہے:

شیخ فیضی وقتے کہ از درگاہ اکبری بہ سفارت بر دن شاہ ذاتی احمد نگر، مورشد، در عالیفہ خود از احمد نگر بہ کیر پادشاہ فرستاد کہ در احمد نگر دو شاعر خاکی نہاد و صوفی مشرب ندو در شور رتبہ عالی دارند الخ (ص ۳۲)

نیز دربار اکبر لکھتا ہے:

شیخ فیضی در عریضہ خود از احمد نگر بہ کیر پادشاہ بری نگارد کہ ظہوری عشق کرد کہ در دربار نیکی ارتفاعے کہ معظمہ بجمعی بود اقلیم مرد بر کنار حوض نشستہ صحبتے داشتند الخ (ص ۳۶)

یہ دونوں قطعات انشائے فیضی مطبوعہ بمبئی کے ص ۲۵ اور ۱۳۱ پر موجود ہیں۔

ان تفصیلات سے یہ بات مسترد ہو گئی کہ فیضی نے احمد نگر سے جو عہد داشت اکبر کی خدمت میں بھیجی تھی اس میں یہ اطلاع تھی کہ محمد قلی قطب شاہ کی محبوبہ بھاگ متی اور اس کے نام پر بھاگ نگر آباد کیا گیا تھا، یہ اطلاع جو ایک سفیر اپنے بادشاہ کے پاس بھیجتا ہے دوسرے ذرائع سے حاصل کی ہوئی اطلاع سے زیادہ اہم ہوتی ہے، آہتر فی صاحب تاریخ کے تقاضے سے پوری طرح واقف تھے، اس لیے اس واقعے کی اہمیت کو جتنا کہ حساس ہو گا ہم سمجھ نہیں سکتے، اسی بنا پر ان کا اصرار تھا کہ دراصل عہد داشت میں محمد قلی قطب شاہ کا ذکر ہی نہیں تھا، اب جبکہ وثوق سے معلوم ہے کہ اس میں وہ دخیل ہے، اگر ان تک یہ اطلاع پہنچ جاتی تو یقیناً وہ اپنے بیان پر اصرار نہ کرتے۔ یہ بات تو احمد نگر کی عہد داشت کی نسبت سے تھی، شاہی ہندوستان کے مورخوں پر جو اعتراض ہوئے ہیں وہ بھی بڑی حد تک بے بنیاد ہیں، اس وجہ سے شروانی صاحب کا فیصلہ قابل قبول نہیں۔ فیضی اور

[illegible]

[illegible] صاحب لکھتے ہیں [illegible] دھرم یودھیہ کے سبب سے

بے بنیاد تھیں:

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

گئی۔ در ریاست ۱۰ سال قبل فیضی بھاگ متی اور بھاگ نگر کا ذکر کیا ہے، اور اس میں شہر بھی فیضی ہی کا
یک غیر بیان ہے، وہ ہر طرح سے شک و شبہ سے پاک ہے۔ تو پھر سے فرشتہ پر جس نے ۱۰ سال بعد یہ
بات لکھی ہے، یہ الزام کیوں کر عائد ہوتا ہے۔ فرشتہ پر یہ جیسی کیفیت کے خود خود بیان سے نہ تھا
مدنی کا بیان ہے، یہ تو فیضی کے بیان کی صورت ہی سے ۱۰ سال میں تحقیق کی جبکہ بھاگ متی
اور بھاگ نگر کا ذکر فرشتہ سے ۱۵ سال قبل فیضی نے کیا ہے۔ یہ زیادہ صاف بات کی طرف سے
بھاگ نگر کے نام سے فرشتہ کا الزام بے جا ہے۔

باقی رہے بھاگ نگر کی تبدیلی کا الزام بھی بے بنیاد ہے، اس لیے کہ اول تو بھاگ نگر کا نام
نہ لکھا ہوا میں رہتا ہے جو فرشتہ سے مقدم ہیں، دوم یہ کہ فیضی اور فرشتہ نے بھاگ نگر کا نام
کو دیا تھا ہے ایک ہی ہے۔ جو کہ جب فیضی ۱۶ سال قبل در نقشہ الدین ۵ سال قبل بھاگ نگر
لکھتے ہیں در سن کہ بھاگ متی کا ذکر ہے تو بھاگ نگر محض فرشتہ نے لکھا ہے، اور کچھ نہیں

فرشتہ پر یہ الزام کہ اس نے بھاگ متی کے حسن میں ایک ہزار بار کا تحریف کر دیا ہے، بھی بے جا
لکھتی ہے ۱۵ سال قبل سے جیسا کہ فرشتہ نے لکھا ہے۔

تمام باتوں کے بعد اور تمام باتوں کے بعد بھی بھاگ متی اور بھاگ نگر
کے بارے میں تو ہمیں کوئی ثبوت نہیں ملتا ہے اور نہ کوئی الزام اور نہ کوئی موقف ہے
ہمارے لیے یہ بات ہے کہ یہ اصل بات ہی بھاگ متی ہی ہے۔

۱۰۰۰ میں بھاگ متی کے عشق کی داستان فیضی نے کی ہے، مگر تیرہ سو ہجری کے بعد
بعد تاریخ نے فرشتہ کے ساتھ فیضی کی تردید کی ہے، یہ بات نہیں ہو سکتی۔ خلف کی بات
دیوانے میں بھاگ متی کے وجود سے ساتھ ہمیں ملتا ہے بھاگ متی کے بجائے بھاگ رتی کے نام پر جو
محمد قلی کی ماں تھی، جانی جاتی ہے۔

تمام باتوں کے بعد اور تمام باتوں کے وجود کے سلسلے میں ۱۲ ہجری کا ایک سکہ ہمیں کہیں سے
ملا ہے جو ہمارے لیے ایک سکہ ہے جو کہ ثبوت ہے کہ یہ ۱۰۰۰ ہجری میں وجود میں آیا تھا۔ ہمیں
اس سے اس نظریہ کی تردید نہیں ہوتی کہ اس تاریخ سے قبل بھاگ نگر تھا بھاگ متی کے نام پر آباد ہوا تھا۔

۵۔ یورپی سیاح مسٹر بارنگر تھا ہے جو فیضی اور فرشتہ کے بیان پر بھی ہے۔

[illegible] BAGNAGAR ہے [illegible] BAGNAGAR کی [illegible]
GARDEN OF [illegible] BAGNAGAR
[illegible] NAGAR [illegible] CITY OF GARDEN [illegible]

[illegible]

وجود پر شک نہیں کیا جا سکتا۔

[illegible]

[illegible] شادی کی رسم [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

تعلیم —

قصۂ بھاگ متی

[illegible]

Prof. H. K. SHERWANI

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Appendix
THE BHĀGMATĪ LEGEND

The problem connected with a [illegible] Bhāgmatī supposed to have been favourite of Muhammad Quli, [illegible] about her other [illegible] best the most prominent personalities [illegible] was [illegible] named Bhāgmatī [illegible] the problem [illegible] state [illegible]

(1) [illegible] Bhāgmatī [illegible] Fazil Khān [illegible] Deccan. He [illegible] Quli [illegible] Shīrāz [illegible] Bhāgmatī [illegible] and mistress of Abul Qasim [illegible]

(2) About the same time Nizām [illegible] Muhammad Quli [illegible] Muhammad [illegible] Sultān [illegible] and [illegible] Bhāgmatī [illegible]

(3) [illegible] Gōlkonda [illegible] capital Bhāgmatī [illegible]

(4) 'Abdul Bāqī Mīr [illegible] Khān [illegible] Deccan.

Let us now submit there [illegible] the author of the Ain Bāqī [illegible] Abul [illegible] that he mentions [illegible] the rulers of the Deccan [illegible] The [illegible] sentence [illegible] and houses. The Sultān's quarters of harem and [illegible] most [illegible] aspect of his character [illegible] Bhāgmatī [illegible] seventeen [illegible] who have been honoured in his [illegible]

1. See [illegible] Fazil. E & D VI p. 147. Tabaqāt Fir. II [illegible]
2. [illegible] E & D VII 147. [illegible] by I. [illegible] Fraehard and [illegible] regretted that they were [illegible] of the task."

THE QUTB SHAHIS OF GOLCONDA-HYDARABAD

[illegible]

Hazrat Bhagmati

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

Not merely that, Bhagmati is also said to be the [illegible]

[illegible]

Numismatic evidence also points to the same direction. As has been mentioned above, we have coins struck in 992/1584 at Golkonda and others struck in 1012/1603-4 at "Dāru's Salṭanat Haidarābād," but there is no coin which was minted at "Bhāgnagar."

Revival of the Legend

The legend was as good as dead about the end of the Quṭb Shāhī dynasty, but perhaps in order to spite the Quṭb Shāhīs it was revived during the early Āṣaf Jāhī period. No sooner did it occupy the stage than it was refuted in Ghulām Husain Khān's *Manāqib*, compiled in 1225/1810. As time passed people began to take interest in the erotic rather than the quasi-historical part of the story, and a sneering sentence of Fazlī grew into a paragraph, the paragraph into a section and the section into chapters. The mythical Bhāgmatī was created afresh at the end of the eighteenth century and became a tradition with little historical evidence to support her.

The Solution

We have, however, to remember that European travellers who came to Hyderabad about this time speak both of Bhāgnagar and Hyderabad, but, except for Tavernier, they do not give the derivation of the name. Bernier, who was twice in the capital, mentions "Bhāgnagar" twice. Thevenot, who was here in 1666, gives the capital both the names Hyderabad and Bhāgnagar, the former being the "official name" and the latter the name used by "the common people." It is Tavernier who gives the clue to the derivation of the name and says that

> "Bagnagar was founded by the grandfather of the present King (Abdu'l Jāh). Here the King had very fine gardens. It may mean the Garden of Nagar."[2]

Tavernier thus asserts that the name Bāgnagar stands for the City of Gardens or Bāghnagar because the new capital was replete with gardens and groves. In a way he repeats what Rafī'u'd Dīn Shīrāzī had said sixty years previously, that

> "The whole city was just one large garden."[3]

Bāghnagar became Bhāgnagar at the hands of the sarcastic who chafed at the name, or the romantic who were reminded of the mythical demi-mundane Bhāgmatī.

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1 We must remember that there is no mention of Bhāgmatī or Bhāgnagar in any of the contemporary Telugu works.

2 Bernier, *op. cit.*, 65, 67; Thevenot, *op. cit.*, 131, 137; Tavernier, *op. cit.*, 132.

3 *Toghlaqnāma*, fol. 61 b.

ڈاکٹر خلیل اللہ بیگ
[illegible]

شمالی ہند میں اردو زبان کا آغاز اور ابتدائی ارتقا

ابتک دستیاب متون کے حوالوں سے

(۱)

اردو کے آغاز و ارتقا پر گفتگو کرنے سے قبل میں دو باتیں نہایت واضح الفاظ میں عرض کر دینا چاہتا ہوں۔ اردو کی پیدائش کے ذمہ دار مسلمان نہیں تھے ورنہ یہ بولی کھچڑی زبان ہے۔ ان دونوں کو قریبی وضاحت میں اس لئے ضروری سمجھتا ہوں کہ آج بھی بہت سے لوگ اردو کو مسلمانوں کی زبان سمجھتے ہیں۔ یہ مختلف زبانوں کا مرکب ہے۔ یہ دونوں باتیں اردو کی تاریخ کو سمجھنے میں کافی تاریخ پیدا کرتے گفتگو میں ضروری سمجھی گئی۔

اردو کی پیدائش [illegible] مسلمان نہیں تھے تو مغلوں نے اپنے عروج و زوال کے زمانے میں جن جن علاقوں پر فتح پائی تھی وہاں کی زبان آج اردو ہوتی۔ مسلمان فوجیں ایران اور عربستان فتح کیں اور روس گئے۔ انڈونیشیا، ملیشیا اور بنگلہ دیش میں وہ آج اکثریت میں ہیں اور وہاں کی کوئی علاقائی زبان ہمیں ان تمام علاقوں میں اردو کی کوئی شے وجود میں نہیں آئی۔ مندرجہ بالا سطور میں اردو کی پیدائش کا ذمہ دار مسلمانوں کو قرار دیا جا سکتا ہے۔ اردو کی پیدائش کے تعلق سے دراصل اس دور کے شمالی ہند کے دو علاقائی باشندے تھے جن میں اکثریت ہندوؤں کی تھی۔ ان علاقائی باشندوں کے ساتھ مسلمان بھی تھے جنہیں جب فوجی حیثیت سے یہاں آئے تو انہوں نے دیہات کے باشندوں سے علاقائی بولیوں کی صحبت کو سمجھا۔ ان کی ہندی زبان سیکھنے کی کوشش کی۔ ان کے ساتھ ہندی زبان سیکھنے بھی لگے۔ دھیرے دھیرے اس میں ادب پیدا ہونے لگا اور اس سے ایک شستہ اور شائستہ زبان کا ارتقا ہوا۔

دوسری بات جس سے مجھے اختلاف نہیں وہ بعض حضرات یہ کہتے ہیں کہ اردو ایک کھچڑی زبان ہے۔ اردو کو جو لوگ ایک کھچڑی زبان تصور کرتے ہیں وہ یہ سمجھتے ہیں کہ [illegible]

بیڈا یا یہ دونوں کا دانہ اور دونوں نے مل کر کھچڑی پکائی۔ اگر اردو میں چند فیصد عربی فارسی الفاظ کی شمولیت کی وجہ سے کھچڑی زبان کہا جا سکتا ہے تو دنیا کی کون سی ایسی زبان ہے جو کھچڑی نہیں تامل کلمواد کہتا ہے سنسکرت کے بے شمار الفاظ شامل ہیں۔ انگریزی میں یونانی، لاطینی، فرانسیسی اور جرمنی زبانوں کے لفظ کافی تعداد میں ملے ہوئے ہیں۔ فارسی اور ترکی نے عربی زبان سے بے شمار الفاظ مستعار لیے ہیں تو کیا یہ زبانیں کھچڑی کہی جا سکتی ہیں؟ ہرگز نہیں۔ جو کھچڑی زبان نہیں کہی جا سکتی۔ یہ دونوں باتیں تاریخ نے ثابت کیا ہے کہ کن کن کیفیتوں میں اردو وجود میں آئی۔

اصل موضوع پر غور کرنے کیلئے تین سوالات زیر بحث لاؤں گا:

(۱) اردو کب پیدا ہوئی۔ (۲) اردو کہاں پیدا ہوئی اور (۳) اردو کیسے پیدا ہوئی۔

یعنی ان سوالات پر غور کرنے سے پہلے ہمیں ذرا ہندوستانی تاریخ پر غور کرنا جس سے اردو زبان کا براہ راست تعلق ہے۔

(۲)

ماہرین لسانیات کا خیال ہے کہ دنیا میں تقریباً سات ہزار زبانیں بولی جاتی ہیں۔ ان میں سے بعض زبانیں آپس میں مماثلت رکھتی ہیں اور بعض زبانیں دوسری سے بالکل مختلف ہیں۔ جن زبانوں میں مماثلت پائی جاتی ہے انھیں زبان شناس عالموں نے ایک لسانی گروہ میں رکھا ہے، جیسے لسانی خاندان [illegible]

[illegible] دنیا میں بولی جانے والی زبانوں کو کئی لسانی خاندانوں میں تقسیم کیا گیا ہے۔ ان میں سب سے بڑا لسانی خاندان ہندیورپی [illegible] کہلاتا ہے۔ اس خاندان کی اسمیں ہندوستان، پاکستان ایران افغانستان اور یورپی ممالک کی بیشتر زبانیں شامل ہیں۔ یہ زبانیں تاریخی اور لسانیاتی اعتبار سے آپس میں ہم رشتہ ہیں۔ ہندیورپی [illegible] خاندان ہیں جن میں ہندآریائی جس کا تعلق ہندوستان میں بولی جانے والی زبانوں سے ہے، ایک نہایت اہم اور ممتاز شاخ ہے۔

ہندوستان میں ہندآریائی زبانوں کے ارتقا کی تاریخ ۱۵۰۰ قبل مسیح تسلیم کی گئی ہے۔ یہ [illegible] کی ہندوستان میں آمد کی تاریخ ہے۔ ہندآریائی زبانوں کے آغاز و ارتقا کا سہرا انھیں آریوں کے سر ہے جو وسطی ایشیا میں اپنا وطن ترک کر کے ایران و افغانستان کا سفر طے کرتے ہوئے ۱۵۰۰ قبل مسیح میں ہندوستان کے شمال مغربی خطے میں نمودار ہوتے ہیں۔ وقت کی تبدیلی کے ساتھ ساتھ ان کی زبان میں بھی تبدیلی واقع ہوتی گئی

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

یعنی [illegible] جانے لگا جدھر میں [illegible] اپ بھرنش پڑیں۔ یہ [illegible] تقریباً [illegible] سال تک جاری رہا۔ ہندآریائی زبانوں کے ارتقا کا یہ دور ہندآریائی دور کہلاتا ہے۔

مغرب یا مشرق پورے شمالی ہندوستان میں جہاں جہاں پراکرتیں رائج تھیں وہاں اپ بھرنشیں بولی جانے لگیں مثلاً مالوی پراکرت کی جگہ اُجّین اپ بھرنش نے لی۔ اردھ مالوی اور شورسینی پراکرتوں کی جگہ اردھ مالوی اور شورسینی اپ بھرنشوں نے لی۔ ورنا ناگر اور دوسری پراکرتوں نے بھی اپ بھرنش بننے میں مدد کی۔ یہ اپ بھرنشیں شمالی ہندوستان میں پورے چار سو سال یعنی ۶۰۰ سنہ عیسوی سے ۱۰۰۰ سنہ عیسوی تک رائج رہیں۔ ۱۰۰۰ سنہ عیسوی تک پہنچتے پہنچتے شمالی ہندی زبانوں میں ایک بڑی تبدیلی رونما ہوئی اور یہ تبدیلی جدید ہندآریائی زبانوں کے آغاز و ارتقا کا سبب بنی۔ اس موقع پر مسلمان فاتحین شمالی ہند میں داخل ہوتے ہیں۔ ہندآریائی زبانوں کے عام اور مشہور مسائل یعنی [illegible] ہے کہ اس موقع پر اگر مسلمان شمالی ہند میں داخل نہ ہوتے تب بھی جدید ہندآریائی زبانوں کا ارتقا ہی ہوتا۔ ۱۰۰۰ سنہ عیسوی میں اپ بھرنشوں کے فنا ہونے کے بعد شمالی ہند میں چھوٹی چھوٹی بولیوں نے سر اٹھانا شروع کر دیا تھا۔ شورسینی اپ بھرنش کے بطن سے دنی اور [illegible] کی علاقوں میں ہی چھوٹی چھوٹی بولیاں پیدا ہوئیں۔ شروع میں ان میں آپس میں زیادہ فرق نہیں تھا۔ یہ فرق دھیرے دھیرے بڑھتا گیا۔ اس وقت تک ان بولیوں کا کوئی نام نہیں پڑا تھا۔ مسلمانوں نے جب شمالی ہندوستان فتح کیا تو ان تمام بولیوں کو جو شورسینی اپ بھرنش سے ماخوذ تھیں ہندی اور ہندوی کا نام دیا۔ جب آگے چل کر جب ہندوستانی زبانوں کا سائنٹیفک جائزہ پیش کیا تو مسلمان محققوں کی تقلید میں سب بولیوں کو ہندی ہی کہا۔ سائنسی خصوصیات کی بنیاد پر اس کی دو شاخیں متعین ہیں۔ ایک کا نام مغربی ہندی رکھا اور دوسری کا مشرقی ہندی۔ مغربی ہندی میں سات دنی اور نو راجستھانی یا پچھمی بولیوں کو شامل کیا یعنی مغربی ہندی میں بارہ بولیاں شامل ہیں۔ مشرقی ہندی میں اس نے مشرقی بولیوں کو شامل کیا ان کے نام ہیں اودھی، بگھیلی اور چھتیس گڑھی۔ جس طرح ۱۰۰۰ سنہ عیسوی کے آس پاس شورسینی اپ بھرنش کی کوکھ سے یہ بولیاں جنم لے رہی تھیں اسی طرح بہار اور مشرقی یوپی کے علاقوں میں اردھ مالوی اپ بھرنش سے بھوجپوری، مگہی اور مگہی بولیاں پیدا ہو رہی تھیں۔

(۳)

مغربی ہندی کی بارہ بولیاں جن کا ذکر اوپر آ چکا ہے سائنسی خصوصیات کی بنیاد پر دو حصوں میں تقسیم کی گئی ہیں۔ [illegible] ان میں سے دو بولیاں اور [illegible] اور [illegible] بولیاں

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] کہہ سکتے ہیں۔ اس دور کے نمونے حسب ذیل ہیں۔

سب سے پہلے ہمیں ہم چند شبد نوشاسن میں زبان کے ادبی نمونے ملتے ہیں۔ اس دور کے مشہور عالم ہم چند نے نحو قواعد کی کتاب ہم چند شبد انوشاسن میں مغربی اپ بھرنش کے آخری دور کے کچھ ادبی نمونے محفوظ کر دیے ہیں جن کے مطالعہ سے پتا چلتا ہے کہ اس دور کی زبان کس طرح اردو کے سانچے میں ڈھل رہی تھی۔ اس کی ایک مثال یہاں پیش ہے:

بھلا ہوا جو مارِیا بہنی مہارا کنت
لجّیجّا جاسُ دسیاہُ جسّی بھگّا گھرِ نت

اس نمونے میں بھلا، بہن، اور بھگا کی ترتیب جملہ ہیرا اور ہے کی قدیم شکلیں ہیں اور مراٹھی شکل تو بالکل ہی جدید ہے۔ اس نمونے کی دوسری اہم لسانی خصوصیت یہ ہے کہ اس میں استعمال ہونے والا لفظ ضمیر اور صفت تینوں آواز پر ختم ہوتے ہیں۔ اردو کی سب سے بڑی پہچان یہی ہے۔

ہم چند کے ان نمونوں کے بعد اس دور کا دوسرا اہم مواد ہمیں بدھ سدھوں، جوگیوں اور کورہ تانتری جوگیوں سے منسوب مذہبی تصنیفات میں ملتا ہے۔ یہ لوگ تمام ہندوستان کے ایک بڑے حصے میں پھیلے ہوئے تھے اور اپنی زبان میں مختلف بولیوں کی چھاپ رکھتے تھے۔ ان کی اس مخلوط زبان کو سرحدی زبان کہا جا سکتا ہے اور اس میں اردو کے ابتدائی روپ کی جھلک دیکھی جا سکتی ہے۔

اس دور کا تیسرا نمونہ ہمیں ڈنگل اور پنگل کی شاعری میں ملتا ہے۔ راجپوتوں کی شاعری میں اس کا استعمال کثرت سے ملتا ہے۔ راسو جیسی طویل رزمیہ نظمیں اسی زبان میں لکھی گئیں۔ چند بردائی کی طویل رزمیہ نظم پرتھوی راج راسو کے ابتدائی حصوں میں پیش اردو کے کچھ نمونے دیکھے جا سکتے ہیں۔

ان نمونوں کے علاوہ مسعود سعد سلمان کی ہندوی شاعری بھی پیش اردو کا ایک چھوٹا قابل قدر نمونہ فراہم کر سکتی تھی لیکن ان کا ہندوی دیوان دستیاب نہیں۔ ان کے ہندوی دیوان کا پتہ ہمیں فارسی تذکرہ "لباب الالباب" کے مصنف محمد عوفی کے اس بیان سے چلتا ہے۔ وہ لکھتا ہے:

"دو سہ دیوست: یکے بہ تازی و یکے بہ پارسی و یکے بہ ہندوی"

اس کے ہندوی دیوان کا ذکر فرشتہ نے بھی کیا ہے۔

بہ حیثیت مجموعی ۱۰۰۰ تا ۱۲۰۰ عیسوی کے نمونوں میں ہمیں اردو زبان کی بہت سی لسانی خصوصیات

کا سراغ مل جاتا ہے۔

- [illegible] ارتقائی دور میں ہوتا ہے۔ یہ آوازیں سنسکرت میں پائی جاتی تھیں لیکن پراکرت اور اپ بھرنش میں متروک ہو گئی تھیں۔
- سنسکرت، پراکرت اور اپ بھرنش میں [illegible] پائی جاتی تھی۔ [illegible] ارتقائی دور میں ہوا۔ مثلاً لفظ 'سورج' سنسکرت میں گھٹ گیا تھا۔ پراکرت میں گھٹ کر 'ب' اور 'ر' میں تبدیل ہو گیا۔ اسی طرح سنسکرت میں ایک فونیم 'ش' تھا جس سے پراکرت میں 'ب' اور 'ر' میں تبدیل ہو گیا۔
- سنسکرت اور پراکرت غیر قیمتی [illegible] تھیں۔ اپ بھرنش میں [illegible] قیمتی زبان تھی [illegible] غیر قیمتی شکلیں ختم ہو گئیں اور قیمتی [illegible]
- [illegible] بنانے جیسے فعلی [illegible] کا استعمال بھی اسی دور سے [illegible] ہے۔ مثلاً اس دور کی زبان میں [illegible] جیسی فعلی شکلیں پائی جاتی ہیں جن کا پراکرت کی روایت میں ہوتا ہے۔
- [illegible]
- [illegible] کے [illegible] کی مثالیں بھی [illegible] پائی جاتی ہیں۔
- [illegible] زمانہ حال [illegible] جملہ [illegible] کا [illegible] قیمتی [illegible] تصنیف [illegible] ۱۱۶۱ عیسوی سے قبل کی تصنیف ہے اس قسم کی مثالیں [illegible] ہوئی ہیں [illegible] جملہ [illegible] ہے جس میں یہ شکل [illegible] ہوا ہے۔

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] ۱۱۶۱ عیسوی [illegible] ۱۱۶۱ عیسوی سے [illegible] عیسوی تک [illegible] ہے۔ [illegible] تمیز شروع ہوتی ہے [illegible] عیسوی کے [illegible] ساتھ [illegible]

[illegible] فاتحین کے دہلی میں مستقل قیام کے وقت سے ہوتا ہے۔ لیکن یہ خیال صحیح نہیں ہے۔ یوں تو
[illegible] فارسی الفاظ ہماری بولیوں میں مسلمانوں کی فتح دہلی سے پہلے سے پائے جاتے ہیں۔ اسی طرح اردو کا ڈول یا کینڈا بھی مسلمانوں
کے دہلی میں آنے سے تقریباً دو سال قبل بنیادی صورت میں تیار ہو چکا تھا۔ کسی زبان کی تشکیل میں قواعد کی ڈھانچے یا
[illegible] کو جو اہمیت حاصل ہوتی ہے وہ الفاظ کو حاصل نہیں ہوتی۔ لہٰذا زبان کی تشکیل کیلئے پہلے اس کے قواعد کی ڈھانچے
یا کینڈے کی تشکیل ضروری ہے۔ کسی زبان کی شناخت اس کے قواعد کی ڈھانچے سے قائم ہوتی ہے۔ اگر کسی زبان کا قواعدی
ڈھانچا ابھی تیار نہیں ہوا ہے تو محض الفاظ اس زبان کی تشکیل نہیں کر سکتے۔ جب مسلم فاتحین دہلی آئے تو اردو کا قواعدی
ڈھانچا بھی ہماری بولیوں کی سطح پر تیار ہو چکا تھا۔ دھیرے دھیرے اس میں نکھار پیدا ہو گیا اور اس کی ترقی یافتہ شکل سامنے
آ گئی۔ جو جیسے جیسے ضرورت [illegible] فارسی الفاظ بھی اس میں شامل ہو گئے۔ سید وحید الدین سلیم کی تحقیق کے
مطابق اردو میں [illegible] فارسی الفاظ کا تناسب صرف ۲۲ فی صد ہے۔ باقی [illegible] ہماری بولیوں کے ہیں۔ یہ بھی واقعہ
ہے کہ قدیم اردو میں سنسکرت اور [illegible] کے متسم اور تدبھو الفاظ کا تناسب اردو میں بہت زیادہ تھا مثلاً سنسار، ملک
سیرک، جیسا، دیا، جیسن، کرنا، دھرم، جیون، ایمان، اپکار، پوجا، چتر، آتم، نیر، اکھ، جگت، انگن، ادھر، تین، پریت
یا [illegible] اور اس طرح [illegible] فارسی الفاظ اردو زبان کی زینت بنے ہوئے تھے۔ لہٰذا عجیب کہ پہلے کہا گیا ہے کہ اردو کے
[illegible] زبان ہونے کا [illegible] ہوتا کیوں کہ اردو کے اپنے یعنی مقامی عناصر تناسب میں کہیں زیادہ ہیں۔

قدیم اردو [illegible] عیسوی تک کی زبان پر بحث کرتے وقت حسب ذیل نمونوں
کو سامنے رکھا جا سکتا ہے۔

(۱) [illegible] تصوف [illegible] کی کتابوں اور دیگر فارسی تصانیف میں اردو کے نمونے
(۲) [illegible] امیر خسرو کی [illegible] اور [illegible] کے کلام میں اردو کے نمونے (۳) مستقل تصانیف۔

جہاں تک صوفیوں کے ملفوظات کا تعلق ہے ہمیں ان کے مستند اقوال تذکروں میں مل جاتے ہیں جن سے اردو
زبان کی ابتدائی ساخت کا کافی حد تک پتہ چل سکتا ہے۔ ان صوفیوں میں حضرت شیخ فریدالدین گنج شکر، شیخ حمیدالدین
ناگوری، شیخ عبدالقدوس گنگوہی، شیخ شرف الدین بوعلی قلندر، شیخ شرف الدین یحییٰ منیری وغیرہ خاص اہمیت رکھتے
ہیں۔ اسی طرح [illegible] فارسی تصانیف میں اردو الفاظ و محاورات اور فقرے [illegible] بکھرے ہوئے
[illegible] اقوال کی حیثیت رکھتے ہیں۔

[illegible] سب سے اہم [illegible] تسلیم کیے جاتے ہیں۔ لیکن ان کے کلام میں [illegible] الفاظ

[illegible]

[illegible] ہے جس کا مطلب ہے

[illegible]

[illegible] ۱۲۷۵ء میں [illegible] تصنیف [illegible] ہے [illegible] ۱۲۵۰ء میں [illegible] ۱۲۷۵ء میں [illegible] ۱۲۷۵ء میں [illegible] ہے۔

[illegible] ہے [illegible] ۱۲۷۵ء [illegible] ہے [illegible] ہے [illegible] ہے

[illegible] شاہی صدی نثر کی پہلی کتاب [illegible] ہے جو ۱۷۲۲ء میں لکھی گئی۔ یہ کتاب ملا وجہی کی تصنیف "سب رس" کا ترجمہ ہے جسے فضلی نے اردو میں منتقل کیا۔ کتاب کو زمین نثر کی تصنیف کا درجہ حاصل ہے لیکن یہ ہمارے نزدیک کتاب کا ترجمہ ہے۔ شاہی صدی کی نثر کا چلن بیجاپور اور گولکنڈہ میں فروغ پذیر رہا۔ اس میں دیکھنے کو ملتا ہے۔ اس کتاب کا نصف حصہ مسجع ہے اور یہ کتاب ۱۷۲۲ء اور ۱۷۵۹ء کے درمیان لکھی گئی۔ اس کی زبان کافی حد تک صاف اور رواں ہے جدید ہے۔ قطب شاہی فروغ دور کی زبان اور فرخ کے عہد کی زبان دونوں کی ترقی یافتہ شکل ہو گئی ہے۔ اٹھارویں صدی کے آخر میں یہ عہد [illegible] نسبت [illegible] ہے۔ اس عبارت سے عہد میں [illegible] ہے۔ اٹھارویں صدی کے اواخر میں ہی قرآن پاک کا اردو میں دو ترجمے ہوئے [illegible] ۱۷۸۱ء میں [illegible] ۱۷۹۰ء میں قرآن کریم کے ترجمے کے بعد [illegible]

نثری تصانیف کے علاوہ اٹھارویں صدی کے دوران بے شمار شعری کارنامے بھی سامنے آتے ہیں جس کی ابتدا صحیح معنوں میں ولی کی دلی میں آمد کے بعد سے ہوتی ہے۔ بیدل، آرزو، مضمون وغیرہ کے بعد میر تقی میر، یکرنگ، مضمون، [illegible] جان جاناں وغیرہ شاعری میں شہرت حاصل کرتے ہیں۔ یہ دور سودا کا دور کہلاتا ہے۔ ۱۸۰۰ء عیسوی تک یہ دور بھی ختم ہو جاتا ہے اور ۱۸۰۰ء میں فورٹ ولیم کالج کے قیام کے بعد سے اردو زبان اپنے ارتقائے جدید دور میں داخل ہو جاتی ہے۔

اردو کے ارتقائے سلسلے میں یہ بات نہایت اہم ہے کہ اس کا ارتقا دکنی اور نوائے دہلی کی بولیوں کے بیچ میں ہوا ہے۔ یہ بولیاں ہیں: کھڑی بولی، ہریانی، برج بھاشا اور میواتی۔ اردو کے شروع ہی سے کھڑی بولی کا ڈھانچا اختیار کیا۔ لیکن ابتدائی دور میں اس پر ہریانی بولی کے اثرات بہت واضح ہیں۔ جب اردو رسمی بنا تو برج کے بھی کچھ اثرات اردو میں آ گئے۔ رفتہ رفتہ ہریانی کے اثرات زائل ہوتے گئے اور کھڑی بولی دہلی اظہار کے ساتھ ساتھ عہد بہ عہد نکھرتی گئی۔ اردو کا موجودہ روپ کھڑی بولی کا نکھرا ہوا اور ترقی یافتہ روپ ہے جس سے قریب کے بعد اردو کے ارتقا [illegible] پیچھے پڑ جاتے ہیں۔

●●

گلدستہ

[illegible]

[illegible] یعقوب و یوسف [illegible] بیت [illegible] ساقی نامہ موسوم بہ تشنگی [illegible] بیت [illegible]
[illegible] عبد دیدہ [illegible] بیت (۴) سفینۂ سینہ [illegible] بیت [illegible] دیوان [illegible]
[illegible] تحقیقات [illegible] بیت [illegible] تحقیقی دیوان [illegible]
بیت [illegible] دیوان [illegible] بیت [illegible] دیوان [illegible] تحقیقات [illegible] رباعیات [illegible]
[illegible] بیت [illegible] قلمی [illegible] دیوان [illegible] رباعیات [illegible]
[illegible] بیت [illegible] دیوان [illegible] مطبوعہ [illegible] میں [illegible] دیوان [illegible] بیت
[illegible] دیوان [illegible] کوستان [illegible] دیوان [illegible] تحقیقی [illegible] بیت [illegible]
[illegible] تحقیقی [illegible] بیت [illegible] [illegible] تحقیقی [illegible]
[illegible] فارسی [illegible] (۲۱) کافیۂ [illegible] [illegible] بیت [illegible] [illegible]
[illegible] بیت [illegible] (۲۲) جعفر احمد

[illegible]

میں پیدا ہوا اس کا باپ شیخ [illegible] الدین محمد علی [illegible] پیدائش سے پہلے ہی [illegible]
[illegible] سے پہلے [illegible] [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] ۱۳۳۲ھ جب مصنف نے "وفیات المحققین" کا انتخاب کیا جا رہا تھا، ہمت کیا تو ترتیب [illegible] آئی [illegible] ترتیب دی [illegible] متوسطین اور متاخرین شعرا کیلئے بنائے۔ شعرا کی ترتیب [illegible] [illegible] ۲۰۰ [illegible] ۳۶ [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] ۱۵ [illegible] متوسطین [illegible] متاخرین [illegible] وفات [illegible] طریق [illegible] [illegible] ۱۵ [illegible] [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] ہے [illegible] ہے [illegible] [illegible] ہے [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

[illegible]

ضیاء الدین مسعود بیهقی (۳۱)، ضیاء الدین عزیز تبریزی (۳۲)، حسن بن محمد بن بدر (۳۳)، بدر الدین
جاجرمی (۳۴)، خواجه کمال الدین بیدار رازی (۳۵)، تاج الدین (۳۶)، ملک جلال الدین (۳۷)، شیخ جمال
الدین باخرزی (۳۸)، شیخ اسلام حارثی (۳۹)، شرف الدین حسن بن مرحلوق (۴۰)، سید حسینی (۴۱)
بدر الدین (۴۲)، شهید الدین (۴۳)، شهید الدین (۴۴)، شهید الدین (۴۵)، مولانا (۴۶) شمس الدین داعی
(۴۷)، ضیاء الدین رضی (۴۸)، ضیاء الدین ابو طاهر رضی (۴۹)، خواجه رشید الدین بیهقی (۵۰)، رضی الدین
(۵۱)، رضی الدین نیشاپوری (۵۲)، شیخ رضی الدین (۵۳)، رفیع الدین (۵۴)، شیخ رضای بیهقی (۵۵)،
رفیع الدین رازی (۵۶)، رفیع الدین عبد العزیز (۵۷)، رفیع الدین دامغانی (۵۸)، مولانا رکن الدین (۵۹)،
ابو نصر عبد الله بن حسن محمد رازی (۶۰)، شیخ زنجان (۶۱)، شیخ زنجان (۶۲)، شیخ الدین زکی (۶۳)، عبد الغفار زکی
(۶۴)، زین الدین (۶۵)، زین الدین سجزی (۶۶)، سعید الدین (۶۷)، خواجه سعد سلمان (۶۸)،
شیخ سعد الدین (۶۹)، سعد ورقی (۷۰)، سلطان والد قطب الدین جلال الدین محمد رومی (۷۱)، سیورغتمش (۷۲)،
سلطان (۷۳)، سلطان سلیمان شاه (۷۴)، سلطان شاه خوارزمشاه (۷۵)، حکیم شمس الدین (۷۶)،
حکیم سجزی (۷۷)، حکیم سوزنی (۷۸)، شیخ سیف الدین (۷۹)، علاء الدین سیفی نیشاپوری (۸۰)، شاه الدین
[illegible] (۸۱)، شاه شرف [illegible] (۸۲)، شرف الدین [illegible] (۸۳)، شرف الدین محمد بن محمد
[illegible] (۸۴)، شرف الدین طوسی (۸۵)، شرف الدین [illegible] (۸۶)، شمس الدین (۸۷)، شمس [illegible]
(۸۸)، شمس الدین (۸۹)، شمس الدین محمد بن [illegible] (۹۰)، شمس الدین مبارک شاه (۹۱)، شمس الدین محمد
جوینی (۹۲)، ملک شمس الدین [illegible] (۹۳)، شمس الدین [illegible] (۹۴)، شمس الدین [illegible] (۹۵)، شهاب الدین طوسی (۹۶)، شهاب الدین
[illegible] (۹۷)، شیخ شهاب الدین [illegible] (۹۸)، شیخ [illegible] الدین نیشاپوری (۹۹)، خواجه صدر الدین
[illegible] (۱۰۰)، شیخ صدر الدین قونوی (۱۰۱)، شیخ صفی الدین (۱۰۲)، شیخ صفی الدین بن اسحاق رزیقی (۱۰۳)،
ابو سعید [illegible] قندهاری (۱۰۴)، ضیاء الدین محمد بن [illegible] (۱۰۵)، ضیاء الدین محمد (۱۰۶)، ضیاء الدین محمد (۱۰۷)، سلطان
طغرل (۱۰۸)، ملک طغان شاه بن محمد (۱۰۹)، حکیم طیان الیمنی (۱۱۰)، ظهیر الدین [illegible] (۱۱۱)، عبد الملک [illegible] (۱۱۲)،
عایشه [illegible] قندهاری (۱۱۳)، عبد الله (۱۱۴)، سید عبد الله بن ابی عبد الله (۱۱۵)، عبد [illegible] (۱۱۶)، عبید عبد الله
(۱۱۷)، عبد الرحمن منصور محمد فارسی (۱۱۸)، خواجه عبد الحق محمد فی (۱۱۹)، عبد العزیز شاه شاه (۱۲۰)،
ابو الفضل [illegible] (۱۲۱)، شیخ عزیز الدین محمد محمود کاشانی (۱۲۲)، حکیم [illegible] منظور عبد العزیز

[illegible]

بن قطب الدین سرخسی (۱۷۲) [illegible]

مینؔ بن شیرازی متوفی ۱۰۰۰ھ: (۱۸۰) ابن نصوح (۱۹۹) [illegible]

میر تیمور گورگانی (۲۰۱)، بابا شاہ ملتانی (۲۰۲)، سلطان بایزید، محمد شاہ (۲۰۳)، شیخ بہاء الدین (۲۰۴)، خواجہ بہاء الدین نقشبند (۲۰۵)، خواجہ علاء الدین عطار (۲۰۶)، مولانا قاضی (۲۰۷)، مولانا زین الدین (۲۰۸)، مولانا خواجہ زین الدین عبد اللہ (۲۰۹)، مولانا محمد جانی (۲۱۰)، خواجہ شمس الدین محمد (۲۱۱)، خواجہ بہاء الدین (۲۱۲)، سید قاسم (۲۱۳)، سید حسن شہاب (۲۱۴)، سلطان حسین مرزا بیقرا (۲۱۵)، مولانا سلیم (۲۱۶)، قاضی میر حسین (۲۱۷)، مرزا حیدر دوغلات (۲۱۸)، درویش محمد (۲۱۹)، میر درویش (۲۲۰)، خواجہ سیف الدین محمود (۲۲۱)، مولانا رشید (۲۲۲)، شرف الدین رفاعی (۲۲۳)، خواجہ رکن الدین (۲۲۴)، شیخ زین الدین جوہر (۲۲۵)، شیخ زین الدین خوافی (۲۲۶)، خواجہ نجم الدین کبری (۲۲۷)، سراج الدین قمری (۲۲۸)، خواجہ سلطان سارانی (۲۲۹)، بی نظیر شیخانی (۲۳۰)، شاہ حسین نعمت اللہی (۲۳۱)، شاہ شجاع (۲۳۲)، مولانا شرف الدین علی یزدی (۲۳۳)، مولانا زین الدین علی (۲۳۴)، تیموری قندھاری (۲۳۵)، شمس الدین زوزنی (۲۳۶)، شمس الدین عبد القادر (۲۳۷)، شمس الدین بدخشانی (۲۳۸)، شمس الدین فراہی (۲۳۹)، شہاب الدین سارانی (۲۴۰)، شیخ زوزنی (۲۴۱)، شیخ زرہ پوشی (۲۴۲)، مولانا حسام الدین بدخشانی (۲۴۳)، بیرزا زندوقی (۲۴۴)، شاہ صفی الدین محمد ازبکی (۲۴۵)، تحقیقی سمرقندی (۲۴۶)، علی ابن جبرئیل (۲۴۷)، شاہ علی (۲۴۸)، مولانا عبد الصمد (۲۴۹)، بدر الدین خان (۲۵۰)، غیاث الدین بابر (۲۵۱)، مسرۃ صفتی (۲۵۲)، میر برہان الدین عطا، شیخ [illegible] (۲۵۳)، میر سید علی ہمدانی (۲۵۴)، بابا علی شاہ بدخشی (۲۵۵)، مولانا میر علی (۲۵۶)، [illegible] قاضی (۲۵۷)، قاضی شیخ زین الدین (۲۵۸)، میر زاہد (۲۵۹)، مولانا حیات (۲۶۰)، مولانا خیاث الدین شہیدی (۲۶۱)، فخری بیگی (۲۶۲)، فخری قندھاری (۲۶۳)، فوری (۲۶۴)، شیخ محمد (۲۶۵)، فراہی (۲۶۶)، فیض خواجہ عبد القادر (۲۶۷)، الصبر بیگی (۲۶۸)، شاہ قاسم فراہی (۲۶۹)، قاسم وفی (۲۷۰)، میر زاہد سمرقندی (۲۷۱)، قاسم [illegible] (۲۷۲)، قاسم [illegible] (۲۷۳)، شیخ محمد [illegible] (۲۷۴)، میر خواجہ کلاں (۲۷۵)، مولانا (۲۷۶)، شہزادہ کنجک میرزا (۲۷۷)، مولانا [illegible] نیشاپوری (۲۷۸)، شیخ محمود بن شیخ علی تبلانی (۲۷۹)، قطب الدین محمود (۲۸۰)، مولانا محمد فراسانی (۲۸۱)، خواجہ مسعود (۲۸۲)، میر سلطان مسعود (۲۸۳)، مسکین [illegible] (۲۸۴)، معتقی (۲۸۵)، مولانا حسین (۲۸۶)، امیر محمد نقیب (۲۸۷)، شیخ معتقی (۲۸۸)، درویش مقصود (۲۸۹)

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

تبریزی (۲۸۶)، میر فضیلی (۲۸۷)، ملا شیدا قصہ خوان (۲۸۸)، جمیل بیگ حارثی بدخشی (۲۸۹)، میر جمال الدین کازرونی (۲۹۰)، محمد شریف نیم (۲۹۱)، میر حاذق (۲۹۲)، قاسم بیگ حاجی (۲۹۳)، حاکم بیگ (۲۹۴)، حاتم کاشی (۲۹۵)، مولانا حاجی تبریزی (۲۹۶)، شمس الدین علی یزدی (۲۹۷)، مولانا عبدالرحمٰن (۲۹۸)، خواجہ حبیب اللہ (۲۹۹)، حرفی خفاجانی (۳۰۰)، حزنی (۳۰۱)، بندری (۳۰۲)، حسن بیگ (۳۰۳)، قاضی حسین خوانساری (۳۰۴)، حسن (۳۰۵)، وجودی (۳۰۶)، میر محمد حسین (۳۰۷)، میر رسائی (۳۰۸)، مولانا حسین (۳۰۹)، بیگ ایلچی (۳۱۰)، میر حسن (۳۱۱)، محمد حسین (۳۱۲)، محمد حسین (۳۱۳)، مولانا علی بیگ نشتی (۳۱۴)، مولانا حشری تبریزی (۳۱۵)، میر منصور رضوی (۳۱۶)، حقی خوئی (۳۱۷)، حقانی (۳۱۸)، حکیم راستانی (۳۱۹)، مولانا حمید (۳۲۰)، میر زمند بن ملک جلال الدین سیستانی (۳۲۱)، مولانا حیاتی کاشانی (۳۲۲)، مولانا حیاتی سیدانی (۳۲۳)، مولانا حیدری تبریزی (۳۲۴)، حیدر معمائی (۳۲۵)، حیدر بیگ بن علی خان بیگ ہمدانی (۳۲۶)، خان زمان (۳۲۷)، خان اعظم موسوم بہ عزیز کوکہ (۳۲۸)، خان خانان (۳۲۹)، خاطری کاشانی (۳۳۰)، خادمی خصالی (۳۳۱)، خاوری صفائی (۳۳۲)، میرزا بیگ قطبی (۳۳۳)، امیر خسرو قزوینی (۳۳۴)، میر خسرو قزوینی (۳۳۵)، سلطان خسرو بن ورمین جہاندیدہ (۳۳۶)، مولانا خصالی (۳۳۷)، خسروی (۳۳۸)، مولانا خلقی شیرازی (۳۳۹)، محمد خان شرف الدین اغلی (۳۴۰)، داعی اخلاقی (۳۴۱)، مولانا داعی ہمدانی (۳۴۲)، داعی صفاہانی (۳۴۳)، درویش محمد قصہ (۳۴۴)، دیری (۳۴۵)، ذوقی (۳۴۶)، ذوقی اردستانی (۳۴۷)، مولانا حمید ذہنی (۳۴۸)، رای منوہر (۳۴۹)، رستم مرزا (۳۵۰)، مولانا رشکی ہمدانی (۳۵۱)، حکیم سعید رشدی (۳۵۲)، رشید (۳۵۳)، رشدی باقی (۳۵۴)، حکیم شاہ رضائی (۳۵۵)، رضی الدین ریحانی (۳۵۶)، رفعتی تبریزی (۳۵۷)، رزمی (۳۵۸)، پہ شیرازی (۳۵۹)، مولانا زاہدی (۳۶۰)، میر محمد زمان مشہدی (۳۶۱)، زین خان دلتاش (۳۶۲)، زین العابدین زمان اغلو صفاہانی (۳۶۳)، حکیم زین الدین محمد خان (۳۶۴)، سام مرزا (۳۶۵)، سلطان کاشانی (۳۶۶)، شیخ ثاقب (۳۶۷)، محمد یوسف صادقی (۳۶۸)، سرور خوجہ تبریزی (۳۶۹)، سپاہی فارسی (۳۷۰)، مولانا سوفی (۳۷۱)، میر سنی رازی (۳۷۲)، مولانا سوری (۳۷۳)، سری موصلی (۳۷۴)، سعیدی اردستانی (۳۷۵)، محمد سعید (۳۷۶)، بابا سلطان تبریزی (۳۷۷)، سلیم گرگانی (۳۷۸)، مولانا سوفی اردستانی (۳۷۹)، میر سنجر (۳۸۰)، سنگین

[illegible]

حسین قلی (۵۰۵) محمد رضا [illegible] (۵۰۰) [illegible] (۵۰۰) [illegible] (۵۰۰) [illegible]

[illegible] (۵۰۰) [illegible] (۵۰۰)

[illegible] میر عزیز تبریزی [illegible] میر زین العابدین [illegible] شیخ عبدالرحیم [illegible]
جونپوری [illegible] میر علی کہر تاجی [illegible] بابا علی جعفر [illegible] علی [illegible] بدی [illegible] [illegible]
[illegible] [illegible] میر سید علی [illegible] میر علی قزوینی [illegible] میر [illegible] یزدی [illegible]
میر عزیز اللہ [illegible] علی [illegible] میر علی [illegible] [illegible] علی [illegible] میر
عنایت اللہ [illegible] میر عبدی قزوینی [illegible] میر عبدی [illegible]
قاضی عبدی [illegible] عبدی قزوینی [illegible] آقا عیسی یزدی [illegible] درویش عیاق [illegible]
میر علی الملک [illegible] میر [illegible] قزوینی [illegible] [illegible] قزوینی [illegible]
میر [illegible] [illegible] مولانا [illegible] [illegible] قاضی غضنفر [illegible] غضنفر [illegible] علی
بیت [illegible] میر [illegible] [illegible] میر غیاث [illegible]
غیاث الدین منصور [illegible] [illegible] مولانا علی [illegible] [illegible] رومیلی [illegible]
فتح [illegible] [illegible] فتح [illegible] [illegible] فتح [illegible] [illegible] خراسانی [illegible]
فردی [illegible] [illegible] فرید [illegible] مولانا فرید [illegible] میر [illegible] فرہاد [illegible] میر
محمود [illegible] میر [illegible] [illegible] فضولی [illegible] [illegible]
[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] درویش [illegible] [illegible]

[illegible] محمد [illegible] [illegible] قاضی احمد [illegible] [illegible] قاضی [illegible] [illegible]
[illegible] [illegible] شیخ [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] قاضی [illegible] [illegible] قاضی [illegible]
قاسمی [illegible] قاسمی [illegible] [illegible] مولانا قاسم [illegible] قاسم [illegible] [illegible]
[illegible] قلیچ بیگ [illegible] [illegible] محمد [illegible] [illegible] شیرازی [illegible] ظہیر الدین محمد [illegible]
[illegible] [illegible] قریش [illegible] [illegible] قسمتی [illegible] قاسم بیگ [illegible]
محمد قطب شاہ [illegible] قلی خان [illegible] قاضی محمد خان [illegible] قوسی [illegible]

قیصری [illegible] مولانا قبدی [illegible] قاسم کاہی [illegible] میر [illegible] محمود کاری [illegible] میر [illegible]
کاہی [illegible] [illegible] ملک سعید [illegible] [illegible] قوام الدین عبداللہ کامل [illegible] مولانا کامل
نظیری [illegible] [illegible] بیگم [illegible] مولانا [illegible] [illegible] مولانا [illegible] [illegible]

[illegible]

فواقی (۲۰۰۳)، مولانا عبدالعلی نوری (۲۰۲۳) [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[

[illegible] خان (۸۱۱) میر [illegible] (۸۱۲) میر [illegible] بیگ (۸۱۳) میکی (۸۱۴) میر خیرات [illegible]
محمد میران (۸۱۵) محمد [illegible] سیال لوقی (۸۱۶) شمسی نامی (۸۱۷) میر محمد معصوم خان نامی
(۸۱۸) نورانی نامی (۸۱۹) علی خان نامی (۸۲۰) مولانا ناطق (۸۲۱) [illegible] کاشی (۸۲۲) بابا
[illegible] شروانی (۸۲۳) [illegible] قدسیانی (۸۲۴) [illegible] شیرازی (۸۲۵) مولانا نظری کاشی (۸۲۶) خواجہ
نصیر ہمدانی (۸۲۷) نظام [illegible] قزوینی (۸۲۸) سید نظام [illegible] (۸۲۹) میر نظام الملک دست غیب
(۸۳۰) حکیم نظام الدین علی (۸۳۱) درویش نظام مشہدی (۸۳۲) [illegible] (۸۳۳) [illegible]
(۸۳۴) نعیم خیاط (۸۳۵) سید نعمت اللہ (۸۳۶) فقیر [illegible] (۸۳۷) مولانا نعیمی کاشانی
(۸۳۸) شیخ علی [illegible] (۸۳۹) میر نقیب خان قزوینی (۸۴۰) نور الدین جہانگیر بن جلال الدین
اکبر بادشاہ بن محمد ہمایوں (۸۴۱) قاضی نور الدین محمد صفاہانی (۸۴۲) نیازی بدخشانی (۸۴۳)
و محمد صفاہانی (۸۴۴) میر [illegible] (۸۴۵) محمد [illegible] (۸۴۶) مولانا [illegible] (۸۴۷)
نور الہدیٰ بن میر محمود شوشتری (۸۴۸) مولانا محمد رضا نوری فیروز شاہی (۸۴۹) نیلی صفاہانی (۸۵۰)
نیلی (۸۵۱) مولانا [illegible] (۸۵۲) [illegible] سبقی بیگ [illegible] (۸۵۳) محمد [illegible] (۸۵۴) [illegible]
شستیر قمی (۸۵۵) [illegible] (۸۵۶) مولانا وحشی بافقی (۸۵۷) میر [illegible] (۸۵۸) مولانا [illegible]
(۸۵۹) مولانا [illegible] صفاہانی (۸۶۰) [illegible] (۸۶۱) [illegible] (۸۶۲) [illegible] (۸۶۳)
مولانا یاری تردی (۸۶۴) یعقوب میرزا [illegible] (۸۶۵) یقینی مشہدی (۸۶۶) میر یوسف [illegible]
(۸۶۷) یوسف بیگ (۸۶۸) یوسفی [illegible] (۸۶۹) میرزا یوسف قزوینی

[illegible] میں جن شعرائے کلام میں [illegible] شعرا کو کلدستہ میں نہیں رکھا گیا ہے۔
لہٰذا ان معانی اشعار متوسطین [illegible] صرف [illegible] کے ایک بھی شاعر کو شامل کلدستہ
نہیں کیا گیا۔ اس کی وجہ عبدالوہاب عاملیہ ہے "[illegible] نوشتہ بود" لکھی ہے شعرا کے حالات بیان [illegible]
میں اختصار سے کام لیا گیا ہے۔ کہیں کہیں صرف شاعر کا نام لکھ کر ہی اسے کلام دیدیا ہے جیسے فتوحی
اردبیلی، میر عبدی قزوینی، حکیم عبدی [illegible] بیگ [illegible] وجوہات سے شعرا کے تراجم میں اہم

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۱ [illegible] ورق ۱۶۰ [illegible] کلدستہ [illegible]

۲ کلدستہ [illegible] ورق ۳۵ [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] ترجمه

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

نمونۂ دیگر:

"مرقعہ۔ بادشاہ زادہ نامدار عالی مقدار ابوالفتح بہرام میرزا ابن شاہ اسمٰعیل حیدر حسینی در بدایت اہبت و جلالت در پرورش فضل و شعر و اہل تاریخ میکوشید قندہار را از برادر بزرگوار خود [illegible] مسبب [illegible] بہرام [illegible] دست

بہرام درین خرابہ پر شر و شور — تا کی بجیات خویش باشی مغرور
کردہ ست درین خرمہ صیاد اجل — در بر قدمی ہزار بہرام بگور
افسوس کہ در خیال خود ہیچ ہمہ — پیوستہ بفکر ما و ایم ہمہ
در پردۂ ظلمت و تعدیم ہمہ — از شوخی نفس در عذابیم ہمہ"

کلدستہ برگ ۵

کلدستہ میں میرزا یوسف خان کے مرقعہ کے بعد جس طرح مندرجہ مرقعات الاتفیق ختم ہو جاتا ہے اسی طرح کلدستہ میں مندرجہ کا حصہ برگ [illegible] پر ختم ہو جاتا ہے۔ کلدستہ کا حصہ [illegible] پر ختم ہوتا ہے۔

رخت یوسف لبت عیسیٰ خلقت — بیک صورت سہ پیغمبر کہ دیدست

اس کے بعد دوسرے حصے سے شیخ عمر خیام کا مندرجہ ذیل بیان شروع ہو جاتا ہے۔ اس سے پہلے صفحہ ۱۹۱ الفہلویہ تذکرہ کے متن میں بھی عمر خیام کا بیان موجود ہے:

"بسم اللہ الرحمن الرحیم۔ در تاریخ [illegible] مسطور ست کہ وفات ملک الحکما مولانا عمر خیام نیشاپوری در سنہ ست عشر و خمسمایہ بود او در حکمت یگانہ و عالم زمانہ خود بود خواجہ نظامی سمرقندی کہ یکی از شاگردان او بود حکایت میکند کہ در بلخ امام الحکما مولانا عمر خیام اتفاق افتاد در مناظرہ سخن میگفت کہ قبر من در موضعی باشد کہ ہر بہار باشمال بر وگل افشانی کند مرا ازین سخن تعجب آمد اما دانستم کہ وی سخن گذاف نگوید تا بعد از ان بچند گاہ نیشاپور بسر قبر رفتم کہ قبر او در کنار دیوار باغ بود در فتان میوہ از سر دیوار باغ بر آورد بعد از شکوفۂ گل بر سر قبر ریختہ بود کہ قبر او در میان می نمود او رباعی بسیار ست حکمت

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

(۹۵) گل رعنا (۹۶) لالہ (۹۷) بیلی چنبیلی (۹۸) خواب (۹۹) نمود و نیاز (۱۰۰) موج و سراب (۱۰۱) موی میان (۱۰۲) مطالعات (۱۰۳) مور و فرہاد (۱۰۴) مور و سلیمان (۱۰۵) مدّ احسان (۱۰۶) آفتاب (۱۰۷) جان (۱۰۸) موسیائی (۱۰۹) منصور و دار (۱۱۰) نامہ و پیغام (۱۱۱) نگین و خاتم (۱۱۲) نرگس (۱۱۳) نقاب (۱۱۴) نی (۱۱۵) ہلال و آفتاب (۱۱۶) [illegible] (۱۱۷) یعقوب و یوسف۔

نمونۂ کلام منظومہ: شب آدینہ

مست از قید تعب و زینہ فارغ اند — روز در بیت بہ پیشت کردہ اند
در خوشی ہائے شب گذشتن ہم است — شنبہ خود شب آدینہ نیز بدر رود
منکہ بودم رونق بزم خرابات این زمان — آفتاب شنبہ و بر شب آدینہ ام

نمونۂ کلام منظومہ: ریگ رواں

شیخ چوں ریگ رواں منزل نیندیشد چیست — موج یل دریا بہ ساحل نیندیشد چیست
حال ما را روان آبلہ پائی دانند — کہ نفس سوختہ در ریگ رواں فتادست
در صراط مستقیم عشق عقل خود چہ بیں — در دل شب راہ در ریگ رواں گم کردست

کلدستہ [illegible] کے بعد ختم ہو جاتا ہے۔ کلدستہ میں اس [illegible] کے ساتھ ساتھ ۹۵ علما، فضلا، علی، خوانین اعلیٰ و ادنیٰ مرد و زن کی پسندیدہ رباعیات کا بہت بڑا خزانہ ہے۔ اس میں درج شعرا کے حالات و تاریخی واقعات کی بنا پر فارسی شاعری کی ابتدا سے لے کر عہد جہانگیری تک کے شعرا پر کام کرنے والے محققین و ناقدین وغیرہ کیلئے عرفات العاشقین کے ساتھ ایک مزید اہم نسخہ کی حیثیت رکھتا ہے۔ کلدستہ میں عرفات العاشقین مکمل ہوئی اس کے بعد سے [illegible] تک یعنی تکمیل کے بعد عرفات تک جن مزید شعرا کی دریافت اور ملاقات تھی، مدیں الوحد قدسے ہوئی ان کا اضافہ اس نے بعد میں کیا۔ جس کو کلدستہ میں دیکھا جا سکتا ہے۔ اس طرح عرفات العاشقین کے ساتھ کلدستہ کا اپنا مقام ہے۔ عرفات العاشقین اگر آسمان ادب کا درخشاں آفتاب ہے تو کلدستہ ماہ تاباں سے کم نہیں۔

یہ نسخہ شرفیہ ہمارے اسلاف کے انمول آثار میں سے ایک بے بہا سرمایہ ہے۔ یہ ہمارا قومی فرض ہے کہ ہم اس کو طباعت کے دوش بدوش جدید کے بے نظیر کریر دریے سے ہمارے ادبی عظمت کو دیکھیں۔ ●●

ڈاکٹر [illegible]
[illegible]

سجاد حیدر یلدرم اور ان کے ترکی تراجم

[illegible]

[illegible] تھی [illegible] تصنیف [illegible] ہوا
تھا [illegible] ثالث [illegible] انگریزی اور ترکی میں کیا تھا۔ یہ مقابلہ چونکہ طویل تھا اس
لئے اس نے اب [illegible] اختصار سے کام لیا [illegible] ترجمہ [illegible] ترکی سے کیا ہے [illegible]
[illegible] تحقیق کرنے کی [illegible]
[illegible] ترجمہ [illegible]

[illegible] ۱۸۷۰ء میں اسپیوں میں پیدا ہوئے [illegible] کے والد [illegible]
[illegible] تھے [illegible] ان کی [illegible] ان کی [illegible]
[illegible] ان کی [illegible] ان کی [illegible] ان کی [illegible]
[illegible] ۱۹۲۰ء میں ہوا۔

[illegible] کے سب سے بڑے [illegible] ترکوں [illegible] ہیں [illegible] قومی
[illegible] قومیت کے قائل تھے [illegible] ان کی [illegible] طرز زندگی کی
جگہ [illegible] طرز زندگی [illegible] جبکہ انہوں نے یورپ [illegible]

ان کی [illegible] مشہور [illegible] ہیں [illegible] ہندوستان و گلستان [illegible] ناظم [illegible] گول [illegible]
وغیرہ [illegible] ہیں [illegible] قومیت پرست [illegible] ترکی [illegible] میں بہت سے [illegible] لکھے ہیں۔

۱۔ [illegible]

۲۔ [illegible]

۳۔ [illegible]

۲۔ خلاصہ [illegible]، ترکی ترک ادبیات تاریخی، جلد [illegible]، ص [illegible]

اشاعت پانچ ترکی کی کارستانی

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

زبان [illegible] مصنف نے جدید ترکی میں نہیں معانی میں لکھا ہے جس میں [illegible] اور فارسی کے [illegible]
[illegible] رہے ہیں جیسے [illegible] زندہ دار [illegible] عشود [illegible] اصطلاح [illegible] صورت [illegible] افعال [illegible]
[illegible] اصطلاح [illegible] وجود [illegible] بھی [illegible] ہو سکتے تھے [illegible] حیدر نے [illegible]
[illegible] ترکی [illegible] ہندوستانی [illegible] ترکی [illegible] میں [illegible]
[illegible] ترکی [illegible] میں [illegible] ہیں۔

[illegible] ہے [illegible] ہیں [illegible] ہیں [illegible] ہیں

[illegible] ہر مرتبہ [illegible] ہیں۔

۲۔ صحبتِ ناجنس

[illegible] ہیں خط و کتابت" کا جملہ موجود ہے۔[1]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

ترکی لفظوں کی جگہ ترکی میں سے یہ لفظ ہے اور جو مہمان جاتے ہیں۔ اس کے علاوہ دو باتیں اور ہیں
تو یہ بھی ہے کہ ان میں اور ان پر روشنی ڈالنا بھی ضروری ہے۔ وہ یہ ہیں۔

۱۔ حیدر نے ترکی عبارت سے "تہذیب" جس کا ترجمہ مشنوں ہوا ہے، انگریزی
تہذیب ہی ہو ترکی سے لفظ [illegible]
جیسے انگریزی گانے گائے جا رہے ہیں۔ مثلاً ذکر ہو رہا ہے۔ ترکی متن میں فرنچ گانا ممنوع ہے
[illegible] مجھے اس نے دردِ دل کو سمجھا۔

۲۔ حیدر کے متن میں ترکی گاؤں کی جگہ ہندی گانے ملتے ہیں۔ ترکی نغمہ کی جگہ اپنی لحنوں اور
کی جگہ روشناؤ اور امانی اور دانا ملتے ہیں۔ ہندی گاؤں اردو باتوں میں ہندی لٹکے ہوئے ہیں
[illegible] نغموں نے لٹکانے والے [illegible] جیسے ترکی کے مشہور گانے اور
موسیقاروں کی جگہ لے لی ہے۔ اردو میں ترکی موسیقاروں کی جگہ مدری راگ اور رامائن کا ذکر آتا ہے۔

ان کے علاوہ ایرانی اور روسی خاص طور پر کاروں سے بیٹھی ہیں۔ اور وہاں خانم فارسی بولی ہیں اور
اردو نہیں جاتیں۔ تو یہ ایرانی بولتی ہیں اور ترکی نہیں جانتیں۔

حیدر صاحب نے یہ اسلوب ہمارے کو اردو کے ڈھنگ میں پیش کرنے کے لئے بہت دلچسپ
بنتے، اور ہمارے [illegible] نے ہیں جو کی ہندستانیں یہ ہیں:۔

۱۔ [illegible] کوئی راگنی کوئی ٹپہ، کوئی غزل ہمارے واسطے ہونا [illegible]
[illegible]

۲۔ فارستان و گلستان

یہ بہت دلچسپ کہانی ہے جس میں مورتوں اور مردوں کی جدائی کا ڈرامہ پیش کیا گیا ہے یعنی فطرت کے خلاف
انسان کو رہنے پر مجبور کرنا صحیح نہیں ہے۔

عنوان:۔ اس افسانے کے تین ترجمے ملتے ہیں:۔ ۱۔ گلستان ۲۔ فارستان ۳۔ نیرنگ زدہ۔ اردو میں بھی کئی

۱۔ [illegible]

عنوان استعمال ہوئے ہیں۔

کہانی۔ کہانی میں اختصار سے کام نہیں لیا گیا۔ ایک زمانہ عورت [illegible] سے [illegible] تھی اس سے [illegible] ایک [illegible] گھسنا [illegible] کر دیا۔ اس تمام [illegible] کے [illegible] کی [illegible] موجود ہیں لیکن [illegible] نہیں۔ [illegible] ہے [illegible] کر دیتی ہے۔

ایک اور تمام [illegible] ایک [illegible] سے [illegible] کے خلاف [illegible] ہیں [illegible] کے [illegible] ہیں۔ [illegible] عورت [illegible] کے [illegible] ہیں [illegible] عورت کی [illegible] ایک [illegible] کی [illegible] کے [illegible] دو نوجوان [illegible] جوش و خروش سے ایک دوسرے سے مل جاتے ہیں۔ یہ ساری کہانی [illegible] ہے۔

[illegible] نے حسب [illegible] زبان اور اسلوب بیان کو [illegible] کے مطابق [illegible] کے ساتھ [illegible] ہو گئی ہیں جن کی [illegible]

[illegible] ہے [illegible]

۱۔ [illegible] ہے [illegible]

۲۔ [illegible] ہے [illegible]

۳۔ [illegible]

۴۔ [illegible] کی [illegible] نہیں ہے

۵۔ [illegible] کی [illegible] نہیں [illegible] کہانی [illegible] کی طرح [illegible]

[illegible]

اور پھولوں کو چھیک کے لڑائی شروع ہوئی۔ اور تھوڑی دیر میں پھولوں سے زخم کھا کے پریاں گرنے لگیں۔" (یہ جملہ حیدر صاحب کے اپنے ہیں)

۷۔ "اس کے زور جسم کو سہلا سہلا کے اس کے دماغ کو تھپکا تھپکا کر ہلکے بادلوں کے پیچھے بھاگتے ہوئے چاند کو میں نظر کر کے نہ جب جب دھوکے دے دے کے نیند اس کی آنکھوں میں چپکے سے آگئی اور گھنی پلکوں کو ملا دیا جس کی ترکی پیالوں سے بھاگتے ہوئے چاند کے پیچھے جانے والے دل کے ٹکڑوں کو غار کھوں آنکھوں سے دیکھتے دیکھتے نہ جانے ہوش ہو گئی اور آہستہ آہستہ سو گئی۔"

یہ راوی ہے شاید حیدر صاحب نے متنوع رنگ اور ورنٹ طریقہ پیدا کرنے کے لئے صنعت تکرار کا استعمال کرتے ہیں جو ترکی میں موجود ہونے کے باوجود حکمت نے استعمال نہیں کی۔

۸۔ "وہ غنودیت تو جیسے میں بیٹھی ہی تھی جب سو گئی۔ گھنگرو آہستہ آہستہ اتار ڈالے۔"

جیسے کہ یہ اپنے بستر میں جن سے من میں متنوع رنگ پیدا ہو گیا ہے۔

۹۔ "سوسن نیلوفر کیک دلاویز خوبصورت جیسے عاشق ترکی میں نہیں تھے۔ اور کسی طرح کمال اور جاذبی کے ذریعے بکھرے ہوئے تھے۔" آنکھوں میں پھول کے پیچھے۔ یہ حیدر کے اپنے خیالات ہیں۔

۹۔ پھولوں کے ناموں میں بھی تبدیلیاں کی گئی ہیں۔ نرگس کی جگہ انار انگور جیسے ترکی پھل لیے گئے ہیں۔ ترکی درختوں کی جگہ تاریکدار سال جیسے درخت ہیں۔

۱۰۔ حیدر اس تحریر کو لکھا کے قریب دکھاتے ہیں حالانکہ ترکی میں اس تحریر کی کوئی جگہ ممکن نہیں۔

۱۱۔ ترکی متن میں چنار کے درخت سے ترکی دوا بنانے کا ذکر آتا ہے جو ترکی کے پرانے تمدن کا حصہ ہے۔

اسے حیدر صاحب نے نکال دیا ہے۔

نتیجہ:۔ یہاں ان تین امثال کے مطالعے سے یہ ثابت ہوتا ہے کہ نیر نگ کا بیان بالکل صحیح ہے وہ کہتے ہیں "ان کے بیان میں کہیں کہیں تو انگریزیت کی جھلک ہے اور کہیں حال ترکی طرز بیان کا تجربہ ہے مگر داد کے قابل یہ بات ہے کہ انگریزی اور ترکی کی یہ تقلید علمی طور پر اور بھی تکلیف دہ ہے کیونکہ وہ عجیب مانوس اور نا شگفتہ نہیں ہونے پائی۔"

●●

۱۔ یہ عبارت تحریر کے قریب نہیں ہے ترکی میں نہیں ہے۔

جناب شیخ محمد [illegible]
[illegible]

قند پارسی

[illegible]

[illegible] شمارهٔ قند فرود فرو رداشت اند درک مذکرهٔ [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] نیامده است۔

[illegible]

گرداورندهٔ قند پارسی

[illegible]

[illegible] ۱۷۹۰ء [illegible] ۱۷۹۵ء [illegible] وفات در ۱۲۰۷ھ اتفاق افتاد۔

[illegible]

قند مکرر، سخن شعرا و تذکرۂ الصالحین ۔ ۵

[illegible]

[illegible] چاہ تازہ باشد در بغل [illegible]

[illegible] تمنا است کہ خواست [illegible]

[illegible]

چاک بر چاک سینہ ام چو رگ [illegible] تنگ ماہ کرد رگ گذشت

[illegible] تا تنگ ندہد مسیح گلہ دارد

[illegible]

[illegible]

رخسار پر نور ترا صبح وطن در آستین [illegible]

قند پارسی "قندہاری جنگ مشاری است کہ بعضی ہر قسمات در لوا فرایام [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] یافته است، احتمال می رود که در ترتیب و تکمیل آن کاستی و خللی راه یافته باشد و باید کتاب را کامل دانست.

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

۶۔ اوج، لالا جگل کشور دھلوی:

به بازار شب تیرهٔ تار [illegible] خود را [illegible]

۷۔ اوجی اصفهانی:

قابل ماتم نیم اما به رغم [illegible] کوچهٔ گریه مشاوی است، چشمی ترکنید (ص ۱۱)

۸۔ آهی، سید احمد خان دهلوی:

خاکم چو بجوشید به میدان قیامت افتاده به هر گوشه دامان تو پابند (ص ۱۲)

۹۔ بسمل، پنڈت رام کشن بسمل:

سرشک دیدهٔ غماز کشف راز ما کرد فغان که پرده زروی غم نهان برداشت (ص ۱۵)

۱۰۔ بسمل، پنڈت گوری شنکر لاہوری:

گشت ویران خانهٔ دیوانه ای هر کجا ویرانه ای آباد شد (ص ۱۵)

۱۱۔ تمنا جیوری:

ایا قدر آشفتگی هر دم چرا بودی مرا آشنا گر آن بت نا آشنا بودی مرا (ص ۱۸)

۱۲۔ خافی، خانجهان دهلوی:

آن که به مستیم انکار به بیماری کرد چشم میگون ترا کاش تماشا می کرد (ص ۲۲)

۱۳۔ خسرو، دہلوی:

بر ما خیال زلف تو شبهای تار را چندان دراز کرد که روز از میانه رفت

۱۴۔ مولانا رازی (؟):

زدی آتشی به جان و زمنت خبر نباشد [illegible] باشد

۱۵۔ [illegible]

[illegible] چشم [illegible] دیده [illegible] [illegible]

۱۶۔ [illegible]

آخر به چهره [illegible] شد [illegible] [illegible] (ص ۴۱)

۱۷۔ [illegible] اصفهانی:

[illegible]

۱۸- میر روحی (سید جعفر؟):

[illegible]

۱۹- سعید (؟):

[illegible]

۲۰- صابر بخی ضیاء الدین محمد:

[illegible]

ای به درگاه تو شب‌ساز همه کرم تست کارساز همه
اگر از چهره برده برداری به حقیقت کشد مجاز همه
مه و خشان مظهر جمال تواند هر کی می‌شنیم باز همه (ص ۵۱)

[illegible]

شعرا و صلحات نسخه شاه در قندهار

[illegible]

۲ [illegible]

۴ [illegible]

۵ [illegible]

[illegible]

۸ [illegible]

۹ [illegible]

مردم نطنز

۹ [illegible]

۱۰ [illegible]

۱۱ [illegible]

[illegible]

فقط یک یا دو ذکا اضافه کرده که در یادیا یک همزه در [illegible]

[illegible]

چند نشت است۔

۵ [illegible]

۶ [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

۹ [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] تشریف [illegible] بجای [illegible] است [illegible] از تشریف [illegible] است.

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

است که صیدی تعلق نگرفته است. [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] علاوه [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

۳۱- [illegible] (ص ۱۱۱) [illegible] است.

۳۲- [illegible] است.

۳۳- مولانا هلالی استرآبادی (ص ۱۱۶) و هلالی [illegible] (ص ۱۱۰). این هر دو هلالی یکی است.

۳۴- [illegible] است.

تسامحات محققان در شناختن و شناساندن قندپارسی

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] فارسی [illegible] تحقیق [illegible] تعداد [illegible] وقتی [illegible] دقیقہ [illegible] حقیقت [illegible] دیگران [illegible] است[1]۔

● [illegible] شیعہ [illegible] مورد [illegible] مقالہ [illegible] بررسی و انتقاد قرار خواہم داد۔

مراجع این مقاله:

۱۔ [illegible] عبدالغفور خان [illegible] چاپ [illegible] ۱۲۹۸ھ

۲۔ [illegible] چاپ [illegible]

۳۔ [illegible] چاپ [illegible] ۱۳۸۳ھ

۴۔ [illegible] چاپ [illegible]

۵۔ [illegible] چاپ [illegible] ۱۳۵۰ [illegible]

۶۔ [illegible] چاپ [illegible] ۱۰۹۴ھ

۷۔ [illegible] چاپ [illegible] ۱۰۹۳ھ

۸۔ [illegible] ۱۹۷۰ء

۹۔ [illegible] ۱۳۷۰ھ [illegible]

۱۰۔ [illegible] چاپ [illegible] ۱۹۷۰ء

● ●

[illegible]

میر وسیم احمد اعظمی
[illegible]
[illegible]

کتاب المنصوری اور اس کے تراجم

کتاب منصوری محمد بن محمد بن زکریا رازی (متوفی ۳۱۳ھ/۹۲۵ء) کی ایک طبی تالیف ہے۔ رازی نے یہ کتاب منصور بن نوح بن اسحاق بن احمد بن عبد اللہ (۳۵۰ھ/۹۶۱ء — ۳۶۵ھ/۹۷۵ء) کے لیے تالیف کی تھی، اس مناسبت سے اس کا نام "منصوری" رکھا تھا۔

محمد بن زکریا رازی کی یہ کتاب اپنی ترتیب و تبویب اور مکمل طور پر اس کی وجہ سے بہت اہمیت کی حامل تصور کی جاتی ہے۔

ابن ابی اصیبعہ (متوفی ۶۶۸ھ/۱۲۶۹ء) اور علی بن یوسف (متوفی ۶۴۶ھ/۱۲۴۸ء) اور حسن بن [illegible] (متوفی ۶۸۹ھ/۱۲۹۰ء) وغیرہ مورخین نے اس کتاب کے مطالب بیان کیے ہیں اور یہ بھی کہا ہے کہ رازی کے عہد میں اس کتاب نے طب کی معلومات سے بے نیاز کر دیا تھا۔

منصوری کے تراجم دنیا کی متعدد زبانوں میں ہوئے ہیں۔ ان میں لاطینی، انگریزی اور فارسی زبانیں شامل ہیں — ذیل میں ان تراجم کا تذکرہ پیش کیا جا رہا ہے۔

لاطینی: منصوری کا لاطینی ترجمہ جو قسطنطین افریقی (۴۳۰ھ/۱۰۸۷ء) کے قلم سے ہے، یہ ترجمہ پہلی مرتبہ ۱۴۸۹ء میں میلان میں، دوسری مرتبہ ۱۵۲۶ء میں وینس میں اور تیسری مرتبہ ۱۵۴۳ء میں بازل میں شائع ہوا۔ ایک اطالوی ترجمہ ۱۴۸۹ء میں بھی شائع ہوا تھا۔

[illegible]

فرانسیسی: "المنصوری" کو جزوی طور پر صرف ہم لقب کا دلاحقہ ڈاکٹر پی اوو کینگ نے فرانسیسی زبان میں ترجمہ کرتے ہوئے کیا۔[1]

فارسی: "المنصوری" کے فارسی ترجمہ کی نشاندہی آصفیہ لائبریری حیدرآباد میں کی گئی ہے۔[2]

نامعلوم زبان: "المنصوری" کا ایک ترجمہ کتب خانہ حمیدیہ ترکی میں مندرج نمبر ۱۳۰۰ کے تحت محفوظ ہے۔ یہ ترجمہ کس زبان پر مشتمل ہے زبان کی نشاندہی نہیں کی گئی ہے۔ قوی امید ہے کہ یہ ترجمہ فارسی یا ترکی زبان میں ہوگا۔[3]

عربی متن: کتاب المنصوری کے عربی متن کی اشاعت کا بھی پتہ چلتا ہے۔ ڈاکٹر کمال سامرائی لکھتے ہیں:

"ونشر رسکہ (RESKE) اصل عربی متن، المانیا سنہ ۱۷۷۷ء (المانیا کے مشہور مستشرق) راسکہ (متوفی ۱۷۸۴ء) نے اس کا عربی متن المانیا سنہ ۱۷۷۶ء میں شائع کیا۔

کیمبریڈ واسطی (متوفی ۱۵۱۵ء) لکھتے ہیں: "اگرچہ اس کتاب المنصوری کا اصل عربی متن ابھی تک نہیں چھپا لیکن مجھے معلوم ہوا ہے کہ ستر سال پہلے عہد لوئیس نے اصل عربی زبان میں قاہرہ سے شائع کرایا ہے۔"[4]

کتاب المنصوری کے نسخے: کتاب المنصوری قلمی نسخے ہندوستان کی مختلف لائبریریوں میں موجود ہے۔ تفصیل درج ذیل ہے۔ ۱۔ خدا بخش لائبریری پٹنہ ۲۔ مولانا آزاد لائبریری علیگڑھ ۳۔ رضا لائبریری رام پور ۴۔ آصفیہ لائبریری حیدرآباد ۵۔ نیشنل بوٹانیکل ریسرچ انسٹی ٹیوٹ لکھنؤ ۶۔ جامعہ عثمانیہ اس کی زیر اس کی لائبریری ریسرچ انسٹی ٹیوٹ ۷۔ نیشنل میوزیم نئی دہلی میں قابل ہے۔ ۸۔ ٹرکش میوزیم ۹۔ بوڈلین ۱۰۔ سفورڈ ۱۱۔ سکوریل ۱۲۔ پیرس ۱۳۔ یا صوفیہ ۱۴۔ فیض اللہ آفندی ۱۵۔ سلیم آغا ۱۶۔ اسکندریہ (ڈاکٹر المجمع علمی دمشق)۔

حاصل کلام یہ ہے کہ کتاب المنصوری ابوبکر محمد بن زکریا رازی کی ایک گرانقدر تالیف ہے پندرہویں صدی عیسوی میں اس کے لاطینی ترجمہ اور اس کے اصل فارسی اور جزوی طور پر فرانسیسی ترجمہ بھی شائع ہوئے ہیں ——— ڈاکٹر کمال سامرائی کے بقول ۱۷۷۶ء میں اس کا عربی متن بھی شائع ہوا ہے جگمبر واسطی بھی اس کے عربی متن کی اشاعت کا تذکرہ کرتے ہیں ——— لیکن اب یہ مطبوعات ناپید ہیں۔ خوشی و مسرت کا مقام ہے کہ ہندوستان میں کتاب المنصوری کے قلمی نسخے موجود ہیں ضرورت اس بات کی ہے کہ کتاب المنصوری کا ایک تنقیدی متن مع تفصیلات شائع کیا جائے تاکہ ابوبکر محمد بن زکریا رازی کی اس گرانقدر تالیف سے طبی دنیا مستفید ہو سکے۔ ●●

۱۔ [illegible] ۲۔ ہندوستان کے کتب خانوں میں طبی [illegible] ۳۔ [illegible] ۴۔ [illegible] ۵۔ [illegible] ۶۔ [illegible] ۷۔ [illegible] ۸۔ [illegible] ۹۔ [illegible] ۱۰۔ [illegible] ۱۱۔ [illegible] ۱۲۔ [illegible] ۱۳۔ [illegible] ۱۴۔ [illegible] ۱۵۔ [illegible] ۱۶۔ [illegible] ۱۷۔ [illegible] ۱۸۔ [illegible] ۱۹۔ [illegible] ۲۰۔ [illegible] ۲۱۔ [illegible] ۲۲۔ [illegible]

حکیم سید محمد حسان نگرامی
[illegible]

القانون فی الطب کی گمشدہ جلدیں — یک جائزہ

[illegible]

الاطباء" اور ——————— جمال الدین قفطی (متوفی ۶۴۸ھ) کی کتاب "تاریخ الحکماء" کو زیادہ تر بطور حوالہ پیش کیا جاتا ہے۔

مطالعہ کے دوران معلوم ہوتا ہے کہ عیون الانباء فی طبقات الاطباء[2] اور تاریخ الحکماء[3] دونوں میں "قانون فی الطب" کے لیے ابن عشرۃ جلد ۱۴ جلدوں کا لفظ استعمال کیا گیا ہے اس سے پتا چلتا ہے کہ ۲۰ تک قانون کی ۱۴ جلدیں شمار کی جاتی رہی ہیں۔ ان دونوں کے علاوہ حکیم محمد علی کی کتاب تاریخ الاطباء میں بھی قانون کی مطبوعہ پانچ جلدوں کے قطع خط ۱۴ جلدوں کا تذکرہ کیا گیا ہے۔[4]

"القانون" کی بقیہ جلدوں کے مشمولات

مندرجہ بالا حوالوں سے یہ بات واضح ہو جاتی ہے کہ "القانون فی الطب" زیادہ تر طور سے ۱۴ جلدوں پر مشتمل ہے۔ اب ایک سوال یہ پیدا ہوتا ہے کہ کیا موجودہ "القانون" کے مضامین بھی مکمل ہیں؟ جائزہ مطالعہ سے یہ حقیقت بھی واضح ہو جاتی ہے کہ موجودہ جلدوں میں شیخ الرئیس وہی سینکڑوں معالجات پر مشتمل معلومات شامل نہیں ہیں۔

ابو عبید جوزجانی شیخ الرئیس کی سوانح حیات میں لکھتا ہے کہ وہی معالجات تقاویم میں بھی معالجات شامل کرنا چاہتا تھا۔[5] صحیح ہے کہ ابو عبید جوزجانی شیخ الرئیس کا سب سے معتمد شاگرد تھا اور اس نے ہی سوانح عمری تو جب کی کوشش کی تھی۔ ان تمام حوالوں سے ثابت ہوتا ہے کہ شیخ کی "قانون" کی باقی جلدوں میں شیخ کے معالجات شامل کیے گئے تھے جو موجودہ قانون میں شامل ہونے سے رہ گئے ہیں۔

مختلف ممالک میں "القانون" کے مخطوطات اور سات جلدوں کے مخطوطہ کی نشاندہی

دنیا کی مختلف لائبریریوں کے کیٹلاگ دیکھنے کے بعد معلوم ہوتا ہے کہ "قانون" کے قدیم مخطوطات کی تعداد نہایت مختصر ہے گو جو ہیں وہ بہت قدیم ہیں۔ یہاں وہ جلدوں پر مشتمل نہیں ہیں۔

یہ بات قابل ذکر ہے کہ ہندوستان کی لائبریریوں میں ۱۰۰۰ھ سے پہلے کا کوئی مخطوطہ موجود نہیں ہے۔ ہندوستان میں "قانون" کا قدیم ترین مخطوطہ خدا بخش اورینٹل پبلک لائبریری کی دریافت ہے جس مخطوطہ کا کاتب ۹۲۸ھ ہے۔

"القانون" کا جدید ترین عربی ایڈیشن جسے سٹی ڈیوٹ آف ہسٹری آف میڈیسن اینڈ میڈیکل سائنس دہلی

۱۔ المہذب ص ۳۱۹ ۲۔ عیون الانباء فی طبقات الاطباء مخطوطہ بیروت ص ۴۴ ۳۔ تاریخ الحکماء، اردو ترجمہ ص ۵۳۸ ۴۔ جمال الدین قفطی ۵۔ تاریخ الاطباء۔ حکیم محمد علی ص ۸۱ مطبوعہ ۱۹۱۲ء ۶۔ آئینہ سرگزشت ۱۹۶۱ء ص ۲۴ ۷۔ جوزجانی ص

[illegible] کہ یہ ہے وہ کی یہ صوفیہ لائبریری کے مخطوطہ ۶۰۰ [illegible] منتقل ہے[1]

مختلف کتبخانوں میں اقتباسوں فی الطب کے قدیم مخطوطات

نام لائبریری	نمبر مخطوطہ	سن کتابت
ایاصوفیہ	۳۹۸۷	۶۱۸ھ
[illegible]	۹۱-۲۸۸۵	۵۹۳-۹۶ھ
جارالله	۱۵۲۳	۵۸۳ھ
مغنیا	۱۷۶۰	۶۱۷ھ
احمد ثالث	۱۹۴۳	۶۳۵ھ
محمد پاشا	۱۷۱	۶۵۳ھ
احمد ثالث	۱۹۳۹/۲	۷۰۳ھ
ایاصوفیہ	۳۹۳۸	۵۲۸ھ
خدا بخش لائبریری	۲۱۶۰	۶۲۷ھ

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

چنانچہ مذکورہ ایڈیشن میں قانون فی الطب کی عبارت درج ذیل جملہ پر ختم ہوتی ہے۔

"[illegible]"

یہ معلوم ہوتا ہے کہ بعد کے ایڈیشنوں میں بھی روم میں طبع شدہ ایڈیشن کی نقل کر دی گئی ہے جس وجہ سے کہ اب تک جتنے تمام قانون کی آخری عبارت مذکورہ جملہ پر ختم ہوتی ہے۔

یہ صورت کہ مذکورہ مخطوطہ کے مجموعہ مخطوطہ نمبر ۹ - ۱۱۵ - ۲ جس میں ۹۰ - ۵۹۳ صفحات ہیں اس میں صرف ۵۰ صفحات سات جلدوں پر مشتمل ہیں یہ تمام عبارت وہاں سے کم ہوتی ہے۔

مذکورہ بالا تفصیل سے معلوم ہوتا ہے کہ قانون فی الطب میں ابتدائی جلد سے ۴ جلدوں پر مشتمل ہے اور باقی جلدوں میں کوئی [illegible] تھی یہ کتاب کہ قانون فی الطب کے پہلے ایڈیشن کے طبع ہوتے وقت صرف ۴ جلدوں پر مشتمل تھی اور بعد میں اضافہ کیا گیا ہے۔

لہٰذا ضرورت ہے کہ مذکورہ تجزیہ کی روشنی میں دنیا کی مختلف لائبریریوں میں محفوظ قانون فی الطب کے مخطوطات کی بھی سے تحقیق کی جائے تاکہ تحقیق کرنے والوں کے معالجہ کے بارے میں دنیا کے سامنے پیش کیے جا سکیں اور اس قدر ہم کتاب قانون فی الطب کو مکمل سمجھ سکیں۔

۱۔ القانون فی الطب مطبوعہ، از روم ۱۵۹۳ء

۲۔ مولفات ابن سینا، یحییٰ محمود، ص ۱۹۳

ڈاکٹر سلیم الدین احمد

"القانون فی الطب" کی دستیاب جلدیں

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

مختلف کتابخانوں میں القانون فی الطب کے قدیم مخطوطات کا ایک جائزہ پیش کیا ہے جس کی رو سے ایاصوفیا لائبریری میں محفوظ اس کا قلمی نسخہ سب سے قدیم ہے جس کی کتابت ۵۲۸ھ میں ہوئی ہے۔ موصوف نے اس مخطوطہ کی آخری عبارت بھی نقل کی ہے جو مخطوطات کی آخری عبارت سے مختلف ہے یعنی یہ مخطوطہ میں کتبی مطبوعہ ایڈیشن کا محولہ بالا اضافہ شامل نہیں ہے۔ البتہ اس مخطوطے کی مندرجہ ذیل عبارت نے موصوف کو اس شبہ میں ڈال دیا ہے کہ "القانون" کی مزید جلدیں بھی موجود ہیں جن کی تلاش ضروری ہے۔

"تم الکتاب الحادی عشر من القانون فی الطب وھو الاقراباذین وھو المقالة السابعة"

لیکن اس شبہ کی بظاہر کوئی وجہ سمجھ میں نہیں آتی کیوں کہ خود کتاب میں مصنف نے دیباچہ کے جواب میں "القانون فی الطب" کے مشتملات کا تذکرہ کرتے ہوئے پوری کتاب کو پانچ کتب میں تقسیم کیا ہے۔ عبارت ملاحظہ ہو:

"واما ان فانی اجمع ھذا الکتاب واقسمه الی کتب خمسة علی ھذا الترتیب الکتاب الاول فی الامور الکلیة فی علم الطب الکتاب الثانی فی الادویة المفردة، کتاب الثالث فی الامراض الجزئیة الواقعة ما عدا الانسان عضو عضو من الرأس الی القدم ظاھرھا وباطنھا الکتاب الرابع فی الامراض الجزئیة التی اذا وقعت لم تختص بعضو فی الرتبة الکتاب الخامس فی ترکیب الادویة وھو الاقراباذین"

چنانچہ اس عبارت میں اگر پوری کتاب صرف پانچ ہی کتب پر مشتمل ہے اور مطبوعہ قلمی نسخوں میں یہ پانچوں کتب موجود ہیں تو پھر مزید جلدوں کی تلاش بے سود ہے۔ اب اس کے مشتملات تو پانچ کتب پر مشتمل ہیں خواہ مخطوطہ کی سات جلدوں میں سما جائیں یا دس جلدوں میں اس سے کوئی فرق نہیں پڑتا۔ خدا بخش لائبریری میں اس کا ایک ایسا نسخہ بھی ہے جس میں ایک ہی جلد میں پانچوں کتب "شامل ہیں بلا اختصار۔

میر سید محمد حسن نے "القانون" کی بقیہ گمشدہ جلدوں کے مشتملات کے سلسلہ میں بھی ایک رائے قائم کی ہے چنانچہ وہ لکھتے ہیں کہ "القانون" کی موجودہ جلدوں میں تیغ رکیں یا ہیضہ کے معالجانہ تجربات پر مشتمل معلومات شامل نہیں ہیں" اور یہ کہ "وعلیہ جو رجانی... لکھا ہے کہ

[illegible]

مراسلہ

ڈاکٹر [illegible] قریشی
[illegible]

خدا بخش کے چند
عربی و فارسی مخطوطات کے بارے میں

عربی مخطوطات — [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

فارسی مخطوطات — [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

فہرست مخطوطات اردو

مفتی بخش لائبریری کالج حیدرآباد ظفر نگر پنجاب

[illegible]

[illegible] شوہر اور تصنیف [illegible]
[illegible] تھے۔ قدیم علما کے متعلق تفصیلی معلومات دستیاب نہیں [illegible]
[illegible] ——— علامہ سید سلیمان ندوی کے الفاظ میں:

"[illegible] ایک سلسلۂ فیض مسلسل [illegible]

[illegible] تصنیف [illegible] علم [illegible]
[illegible] تھے۔ [illegible] حضرت مفتی [illegible] حضرت مفتی [illegible]
[illegible] ہے۔

مفتی [illegible] علامہ [illegible] ایک قدیم علمی [illegible] شاہ
[illegible] شاہ عبدالقادر اور شاہ رفیع الدین کے [illegible] شاہ عبدالعزیز شاہ کمال الدین اور سید محمد عبید [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

۳

[illegible] ایک ورق بھی محفوظ نہیں رہا۔ [illegible] کے بعد مفتی صاحب اپنی ضرورت کے لیے [illegible] کتاب خانہ کی [illegible] ذخیرہ بھی مفتی صاحب تک پہنچا۔ مفتی صاحب کی ضرورت اور [illegible] کے اندر جات سے معلوم ہوتا ہے کہ مفتی صاحب مختلف علوم و فنون کی مفید کتابوں کا منتخب ذخیرہ جمع کر رہا تھا۔

مفتی صاحب کی وفات کے بعد [illegible] اس ذخیرہ کی قدر کی [illegible] محفوظ رکھا اور [illegible] ترقی [illegible] فلسفہ [illegible] متعلقہ [illegible] ذخیرہ [illegible] اس ذخیرہ کی [illegible] کے لیے [illegible] کتب [illegible] کے لیے [illegible] کتب [illegible] مفتی صاحب [illegible] ترقی [illegible] مفتی صاحب [illegible] کتب خانہ [illegible] ترقی [illegible] کتب خانہ [illegible] کے [illegible] کتب خانہ [illegible] کے [illegible] کتب خانہ [illegible] کے

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

مختصر یہ ہے کہ جب سے خاندانی [illegible] کتب خانے کا تقریباً یہ تیسرا حصہ ۱۹۰۹ء سے پہلے [illegible] تھا جو باقی رہا اس کو ورثا نے خود اپنے جداگانہ تبرکات قرار دے کر [illegible] شرعی حصوں کے مطابق مورثا کے ورثا میں تقسیم کر دیا تاہم ایک قابل ذکر حصہ کتابوں کے باوجود مورثا کا ذخیرہ مخطوطات سے اس قدر [illegible] تھا کہ [illegible] ۳۳ صندوق سے کم [illegible] مخطوطات کا سرمایہ اس کے علاوہ تھا۔ یہ کتابوں کی تقسیم خود اپنی خاندانی نظام کی [illegible] پسندیدہ نہیں تھی لیکن [illegible] وقت کے غیر یقینی حالات کی وجہ سے [illegible] تھی اور [illegible] رہنے نہ ہو سکا۔ تقسیم کے بعد کتب خانہ [illegible] ہو گیا [illegible] کتابوں کو شاید [illegible] نہیں [illegible] اصحاب [illegible] طور پر [illegible] رہی [illegible] آہستہ آہستہ [illegible] سے قریب تعلق [illegible] وہ سب [illegible] ادھر ادھر [illegible] اور [illegible] صدیوں [illegible] ہو گئیں [illegible] ورثا [illegible] سے [illegible] خاندانی [illegible] ہونے [illegible] اور [illegible] خاندان [illegible] تھا۔ خاندانی [illegible] علاوہ اس میں [illegible] ذاتی شوق [illegible] اور [illegible] فریدی ہوئی تھیں۔

دس بارہ سال پہلے [illegible] نے [illegible] وغیرہ [illegible] تفصیل نظر [illegible] ایک ایک کتاب جدا جدا ایک ایک [illegible] دیکھا [illegible] حسب صلاحیت و ذوق [illegible] مخطوطات [illegible] قدیم کتب خانہ کی یادگار [illegible] بہت [illegible] شاید [illegible] عرصے سے کھولا نہیں گیا تھا۔ ان کے موجودات کا جائزہ لیا [illegible] منتشر اوراق [illegible] اور تمام چیزوں کی ایک مجموعی [illegible] مرتب کر دی۔

جب یہ سے [illegible] ماجد [illegible] سے اس ذوق کا علم ہوا تو [illegible] نے [illegible] کتب خانہ [illegible] توسیع و ترقی [illegible] اور [illegible] خاندان میں منتشر [illegible] جمع [illegible] جلد [illegible] ہونے [illegible] اور [illegible] محافظت و [illegible] حفاظت پر [illegible] توجہ [illegible] خاندان [illegible] سے رجوع [illegible] اور [illegible] سے [illegible] تک [illegible] حاصل [illegible] ذریعہ [illegible] سے [illegible] کتابوں [illegible] کا سلسلہ [illegible] ہے۔ [illegible] ماجد کے [illegible] سے [illegible] رہیں [illegible] اور [illegible] ہیں [illegible] ورثا [illegible] حاصل ہوئیں۔ [illegible] فضل و کرم سے [illegible] ہو [illegible] ہے [illegible] جاری ہے اور انشاء اللہ [illegible] رہے گا۔

میرے [illegible] کے وقت [illegible] مخطوطات و مطبوعات کا تمام سرمایہ [illegible] بہت [illegible] تھا

[illegible]

[illegible] بارہ پندرہ کتبے نوادر ہیں۔

[illegible]

فہرست مخطوطات اردو کاندھلہ

تفسیر

	نام کتاب	مؤلف	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
۱	تفسیر [illegible]	[illegible]			۱۸	
۲	تفسیر موضح القرآن	حضرت شاہ عبدالقادر	[illegible]	[illegible]		[illegible]
۳	تفسیر موضح القرآن	[illegible]				[illegible]
۴	تفسیر موضح القرآن	[illegible]	[illegible]		۵۰۰	[illegible]
۵	تفسیر موضح القرآن	[illegible]				
۶	تفسیر موضوع بر موضح القرآن	[illegible]		[illegible]		[illegible]
۷	ترجمہ تفسیر [illegible]	[illegible]			[illegible]	

[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]				
[illegible]				
[illegible]				

تجوید

	کتاب	مؤلف	کیفیت	سنہ طباعت	شرح	سبب
۱	حسن الحسب	مولانا اشرف علی تھانوی	[illegible]	[illegible]		[illegible]
۲	[illegible]	مولانا عبدالقدیر [illegible]	[illegible]			

حدیث

	کتاب	مؤلف	کیفیت	سنہ طباعت	شرح	سبب
۱	کنز [illegible]	ترجمہ مولانا اشرف علی تھانوی	مولوی [illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
۲	تحفۃ [illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]			
۳	فوائد [illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	۳۵	
۴	[illegible]	[illegible]		[illegible]		
۵	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]		

فقہ

	کتاب	مؤلف	کیفیت	سنہ طباعت	شرح	سبب
۱	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	۲	
۲	کتاب فقہ					[illegible]
۳	مقدمۃ الجنت	[illegible]				[illegible]
۴	آداب [illegible]					[illegible]
۵	[illegible]	[illegible]				

	مصنف کتاب	مصنف	کتاب	سنہ تصنیف	نمبر	کیفیت
	رسالہ علامات قیامت					
۲	خیر الوصایا	[illegible]	[illegible]			
۳	رسالہ در احوال قیامت و بعض مسائل ضروریہ					[illegible]
۴	رسالہ ذکر دین منظوم	شمس الدین دیوسندی مرید سید محمد شہید	محمد حسن	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
۵	موعظ حسنہ	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
۶	تلفظ قرآنی			[illegible]		[illegible]
۷	اصلاحی معاشرت بیسویں	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]		
۸	رسالہ حب دین	[illegible]		[illegible]		[illegible]
۹	رسالہ فضائل علم و عمل		[illegible]			
۱۰	[illegible]	نواب [illegible]				

تصوف

۱	نور وجود فی تحقیق وحدۃ وجود و شہود	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	۳	
۲	وجود و شہود خواندہ فی تذکرہ [illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]			[illegible]

[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	قیمت
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]

مخصوص مخطوطات

[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]

خصوصیات

[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]

دردو وظائف

[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]

رقعات

[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]

	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
۴	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
۵	[illegible]					
۶	[illegible]					
۷	[illegible]					
۸	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
۹	[illegible]					

[illegible]

[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]						
۲	[illegible]	[illegible]				
[illegible]						

[illegible]

[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
۲	[illegible]	[illegible]				
[illegible]						
۳	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
۴	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	کیفیت
۴	داستانی					۱۲۴۳ھ جا واقع بعد [illegible] ایک دو ورق [illegible]

ادب اور نظم

۱	رسالہ حمد و نعت و مناجات			قدیم	۰	
۲	انتخاب کلام حمد و نعت		علی [illegible]	یوسف علی خان [illegible]		
۳	بشارت شہادت (ترجمہ منظوم)	علی [illegible]		محمد علی [illegible]	۱۲۶۵ھ	۳۱۸ فی اسطور
۴	مثنوی دریائے عشق	میر تقی میر			۱۲۰۰ھ	
۵	دیوان رنگین	[illegible]		میر [illegible]		
۶	دیوان امیر	[illegible]				
۷	مثنوی منظر یوسف و عمدۃ الغرائب	میر [illegible]				
۸	مثنوی مرغوب القلوب	[illegible]		میر [illegible]	۱۱۹۰ھ	
۹	مثنوی قصہ سیاہ پوش	[illegible]		[illegible]		
۱۰	مثنوی قصہ بدر منیر					
۱۱	مجمع فیض العلوم			[illegible]	۱۲۰۳ھ	۱۰۴
۱۲	[illegible]					
۱۳	[illegible]					

[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
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Hejaz Zangana, Zabangir, Shahana, and three others namely *Muchak, Mubki, Munawwim*, which induced laughter, weeping and sleep respectively, come in Harf three, Vol II of *Risalat-ul-Iraz* which contains a long discourse on Music, consisting of three sections spread over seventeen pages. It relates to the root or fundamentals (*Usul*) of music and the branches or derivatives (*Furu*) thereof (*Turbi abi Usul-o-Furu-i Musiqi*). These are mainly Arabic and Persian. One could not expect the use of the nomenclature or terminology of the Indian system such as *Grama* (Scale), *Jati* (fundamental harmony), *Sruti*, *Murchhana* (intervals), *Saptak* (Scale of 7 notes), *Svara*, *Tala*, *Dhun* and *Tirat*. But there is nothing to show that Amir Khusrau's *Parts* and *Maqams* were connected or identical with the *Ragas* and *Ragas* and the other modes and melodies of the Indian musicians.

One finds no reference in the *Risal* or elsewhere to the modes or airs of the composite character such as *Qual*, *Qalbana*, *Naqsh*, *Nigar*, *Aman*, *Zilaf*, *Khyal*, *Basit*, *Sahan*, *Ghanam*, *Suhaila*, *Gul*, *Ghara*, etc. which are ascribed to him. In *Risal* he does write about the musical contest and the arrival of foreign musicians, real or fictitious, such as the two Abul Farrukhi instrumentalists, one of whom played on *Nay* and the other on *Barbat*, and the two *Gaindas* (Singers) named Daud Jabalshi and Shaiban Qamarish who came from Bukhara and Farghana and he called upon the Indian artists, led by Kamal-uz Zaman, the Amir-ut-Tuyar, to challenge and defeat them so that "the dove-pigeon of *Balx* (upper or western region) should know what type of (singing) birds are found in the spring of Hindustan" (*Ke Murgh Chun Bawad andar Bahar-i Hindustan*). But he is completely silent about his eclipsing and outsinging the musical wizard of the South, Gopal Nayak to earn the epithet of Nayak for himself. There is no reference to classical Indian Music or its composers and theorists like Bharata but Amir Khusrau incidentally mentions Safiud-din Abdul Momin (692-1294), the famous author and the theorist of the systematic school of Eastern Arabs, and makes frequent mention of Barbad and Nakisa, the celebrated musicians of the Sassanid Khusrau Parvez (590-628).

(7) Sometimes when the musician himself began to sing a whose [illegible] was drawn [illegible] and became enamoured by the note [illegible] (8) Sometimes [illegible] brought out the *B* [illegible] note, [illegible] became [illegible] a [illegible] pearl (9) Sometimes [illegible] the [illegible] and takes the area of [illegible] for the [illegible] (10) Sometimes with [illegible] [illegible] (11) Sometimes [illegible] he [illegible] [illegible] (12) Sometimes [illegible] the [illegible] [illegible] (13) Sometimes [illegible] the [illegible] [illegible] (14) Sometimes [illegible] the [illegible] blow from the palate of the [illegible] [illegible] (15) [illegible] complete [illegible] and [illegible] *Fa*[illegible] (16) The [illegible] [illegible] (17) The [illegible] [illegible] (*Rasiyan*) [illegible] [illegible] (18) [illegible] [illegible] (19) Everybody wanted [illegible] [illegible] (20) [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] (21) [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] (22) [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] (23) [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] (24) [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] (25) [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] (26) [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] (27) [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] (28) [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] (29) [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

Sometimes on account of dryness it becomes very hot, and it will not emit fresh sounds (melodic notes) unless it receives water.

The Indian and Iranian, like the ancient Hebrew, whose [illegible], relished and not harmonic, musical notes or melodies called variously as Maqâmat, Parda-Sered, Nawa-Wa Lahn, [illegible] or Swara are its outstanding features. The seven primary notes of Iran which were perhaps similar to the seven original [illegible] of the Indian musicians became twelve after the time of Khusrau Parwez (590-628). The Arabs had also their national melodies and modes and their twelve Maqâmas stood for notes and modes. But the airs of different countries have some distinctiveness of their own, being a reflex of moods and feelings, and character and emotions of the people to which they belong, and they are sometime named after the places and provinces of their origin. The twelve Maqâms Parda-Rag had become a fixed number of notes and modes in the 13th and the 14th centuries. The famous Persian poet, Badr Chach of the Tughlaq period who came just a little after Amir Khusrau, says that "the basic modes are none except ten and two" (Asl Parda Bajuz Dah-o-Do-neest) and he fixes each one of them to particular parts of the day and night. Amir Khusrau also speaks of four Usul's twelve Pardas, six Abrashams. The list given by these two poets and those found in works of lexicons and musical works do not wholly tally. Let us see what Amir Khusrau says in *Qirân-u-Sadain* about the "description of the musical modes (Parda) and skilled players thereof who with every one of their hands brings forth hundreds (innumerous variety) of notes".

(1) The players on stringed instrument (Rud Zanan) are all musicians of high [illegible] and practise diligently on the seven chords. (2) They [illegible] silken chords their life-strings and bring out life from [illegible] strings at the harp. (3) This [illegible] (*Mizrab*) [illegible] the [illegible] (produces [illegible] notes). Certainly it is rock (*Mizrab*) but it [illegible] the grip of the hand (*Gaman*). (4) When that one [illegible] ends the [illegible] he becomes [illegible], but he [illegible] giving aid from the [illegible] (*Sar*). (5) When he wanted to produce certain melodious notes he swung from the left (*chap*) to the right (*rast*) path. (6) Sometimes when the instrumentalist plays the *Hussaini* note on his strings he displays that in a most beautiful (*Hasan*) manner

(sweet voice) enchanting snake which becomes coquettish in the hands of others. (5) What a strange black thing has come out from [illegible] heart burst on account of the [illegible] (6) It [illegible] you make a speech [illegible] it has [illegible] a note in its mouth. (7) It lays down its head before you (submits) if you breathe or blow on it. It will not [illegible] you cut out its head. (8) When it [illegible] it banishes whatever is in its head. (9) [illegible] its [illegible] (10) Sometimes its [illegible] (mouth) becomes [illegible] and for producing sound its mouth becomes [illegible] of sweet sounds (*Nawa*). (11) It opens its lips like an orator but its tongue is in the control of the lips of others. (12) With every touch of hand it produces fresh melodies, under every finger there are hundreds of skills. (13) It is like a wooden house with pillars in the middle, but for the passage of the wind inside, it is very accurately. (14) Through the breath which the musician blows continuously, there is an incessant flow of wind in its head.

We may now consider the descriptive verses relating to *Daf* (small round tambourine), an instrument of vibrating [illegible] with metal plates. (1) The orbit of *Daf* has an enclosure of [illegible] of medium [illegible] the outer plate is beaten by five fingers. (2) The [illegible] its circle [illegible] on the [illegible] comes out (of its orbit) [illegible] its dome [illegible] the celestial globe. (3) It has [illegible] Like the girdle of [illegible] meet at [illegible] (*Jalal*). (4) It is [illegible] palm of the hand [illegible] being [illegible] It has [illegible] two [illegible] [illegible] from [illegible] the skin [illegible] (5) [illegible] face [illegible] [illegible] (*Sagu*) [illegible] and sometimes light (*Khafif*) [illegible] sometimes moisture (sweating or perspiring) makes its skin [illegible] and sometimes the flame of the sun becomes its friend. (11)

First we get the description of stringed instruments called *Chang* (چنگ) whose one leg is devoid of hair while the hair on the other leg reaches the ground" (2) with its head cast down and also raised above the *Chang* it has its hair skilfully interwoven (3) It is like a crescent with its head bent down Thirty nights and thirty days are mixed up with it (4) It is a half arch and has four bow strings (*Zeh*) The stroke of the plectrum breaks the hearts (5) It is a boat of parchment with the river flowing over it but the parchment does not become wet with the water (6) Many notes are given birth to by the plectrum but its belly is empty upto its bottom (7) The cover is of silk and the chord is of hair Sometimes it has silken strings and sometimes luminous hair.

This is followed by the description of another stringed or bowed instrument, the flat-chested *Rabâb* (Rebec or Lyre) (1) The soothing sound of the bowl-shaped *Rabâb* (Rebec) robs people of their heart and restores life in them (2) The cup is empty, but it has many gifts or blessings Many (beggerly) hands are stretched towards its bowl-like palm (3) They feel its pulse, but it is not ill They put a screen over it, but it is not veiled (4) When the sharp plectrum is trimmed, it is the throat and not the sound which is scratched (5) The strings (rud) from the ruling lines ('Misier') on the surface of its leaf, although melodic sounds (Sarod') cannot be inscribed or written down (6) When it draws its sound of high pitch the note of the instrument reaches the Venus (7) And when it emits its plaintive note which is devoid of loud noise it cannot hear its own voice, although it has its ears (8) Ass-like it is tied with the chain which is golden, what a wonder that the ass is dumb while the chord is speaking (9) The ass usually runs away when it is pricked but this ass is attached to its place although the lancet is running over it (10) The silken-clad chord (Rabâb) has four wires or strings, and out of these come two-six (twelve) notes (Pardas)

We next get the description of the wind instrument *Nai* (reed pipe, flute or oboe) (1) Every moment when it is blown, the cheek of the minstrel is puffed up with air like a bag or purse (2) Although the mouth of the *Nâi* is closed, it is very talkative Don't say it is *Nai* but call it a snake because of its charm or incantation (3) The black cobra has made its way through holes You see one snake, but the holes are ten. (4) It is a sugar-eating

[illegible] becomes its interpreter (21) The Arabian [illegible] (?) [illegible] from behind the curtain Its lips were like a [illegible] (22) The Indian melodic note [illegible] had [illegible] the [illegible] to lose its [illegible] and Mars [illegible] (23) The [illegible] minstrel opened the door of [illegible] (24) [illegible] (25) [illegible] moved [illegible] and [illegible] (26) The three [illegible] Deogir apparel looked like a shadow which captures the figures (bodies) of the fairies (27) Some were attired in silken garments and their faces were like fine painted silk It seemed that the silk had entered the body like hair (28) Merrily engaged in dancing the beautiful ones were playing with the breeze It seemed as if they were walking on the sounds

What the author says about music and dancing that was in vogue in his time in the above poetical piece is well worth our attention Amir Khusrau was certainly interested in, and was appreciative of the indigenous art and culture but we have yet to discover the evidence in his own and other contemporary writings to justify the credit generally given to him for making a critical and [illegible] study of the Indian music, synthesising that with the Arabo-Persian system which he was thoroughly familiar, and inventing and evolving new styles of singing and new instruments There are meaningful and graphic descriptions of [illegible] dancers musical instruments, tones, notes [illegible] eight poems of Qiran-us-Sa'dain We may consider some of the [illegible] The experts and know the forms [illegible] also see arts or mere modulations will [illegible] to understand and assess the value of Amir Khusrau's achievement [illegible] taster if what has been [illegible] so far in Persian is passed before them in an English garb"

[illegible] "metres of verses an instrument and some times [illegible] words [illegible] as Chang and Rabab

21 It would be interesting to compare the [illegible] given [illegible] contemporary in Basatin-ul-Uns See my paper in JBRS, Patna 1960

were brought down. (4) As on account of the sound produced by it the harp (*Chang*) is the king of all musical instruments, it fastened its chord (*Tār*) with hair at ten places (5) In one of its legs the hair came down to the earth while the other leg was without hair like the palm of the hand (6) The vein and hair were tied on both sides in such a way that you might say that the hair had grown out of its veins (7) The whole of *Nāi* (flute) had become throat and windpipe It was like an organ of Rum made by an Ethiopian (8) It was black and yellow and a peculiar type of bough. A greenish thing had come out of an ebony wood. (9) The Tambourine (*Daff*) was like a strong fort because of its wall. The enclosure was of wood and its court-yard was made of parchments (10) It was ever revolving between its handles It was a peculiarly moving castle. (11) When the Daff player started playing on the instrument he effaced its surface with the stroke of his nails. (12) Look at the clear difference between the harp (Chang) and the barbaton (*Barbat*). One was swollen-headed and the other was meek and submissive. (13) When the string (*Rud*) of the Barbat sent out the sound, the duck-shaped flask was constantly weeping out blood (sounding plaintive notes). (14) The pandora (*Tumbur*) was heavy-headed (self-conceited) owing to its pumpkin. It was wallowing but was neither drunk nor intoxicated (15) After the fashion of the Hindus a variety of melodic hymns (*Mazāmir*), assuming several forms, enraptured the souls through the lowest and the highest strings (Bam-o-Zir) (16) The veins (strings) of *Alāwan*[18] (?) were extended beyond its body The gourd (*Kadu*) was at the back and the veins were without blood (17) Mark the novelty that it had placed the gourd on itself but let out blood from the eyes of the audience (18) There was another brass instrument named *Tāl* (a sort of cymbal with bell metal) handled by the fingers by fairy-faced damsels of [illegible] charms (19) The two brazen bell metals or heroes (*Pa[illegible] Tāl*) facing each other on the fighting ground looked like the two [illegible] ides of the scale in Persian Daff beaten with strokes (?) [illegible] the Hindi '*Tumbuk*'[19] emitted its plaintive notes the

18 The excess wire strings kept within the instrument

19 Abdur Razzāq the Persian envoy of Shah Rukh in the court of Vijayanagar has mentioned some instruments in his book *Matla-us-Sādatain* [illegible] include Kamāncha Nai, Damdama, Kās, Naqqāra, and also *Tumbuk* The last appears to have been a type of Persian Tambourine with a shell of body in the shape of oval cup.

ones (s[illegible]-paced ones) amongst them (ran fast) learnt it quickly (5) T[illegible] extent they acquired it and thus they added some[illegible] (6) Although coming within the boundary [illegible] more than [illegible] 40 years (7) That the [illegible] (grapple with [illegible] (note) on [illegible] The 9th argument is that the [illegible] the heart of a wind instrument [illegible] (10) As soon as the [illegible] of the antelope [illegible] When it cannot [illegible] It becomes transmuted [illegible] and that very moment it gives up its life [illegible] musical stroke

[illegible] Ahmad [illegible] his great [illegible] [illegible] information about [illegible] Before [illegible] the festivals held in the [illegible] [illegible] But, we get much in his writings [illegible] and instruments. In fact, we can [illegible] writings

We may begin with some of the [illegible] and the birds [illegible] in the air

meaningless and rotten. (9) In this sense the musician who requires sound and listening (Sama or audience) is in need of the [illegible] speaker. (10) Look at the dancer who makes sound but has no speech and therefore he is dependent for his speech (singing) on somebody else. (11) Consider poetry to be like a bride and music as her ornaments. There is no blemish if the beautiful bride is without ornaments. (12) I would consider him as a real man who knows (appreciates) what is worthy and valuable and if he does not know this he should ask me about it. If he does not do that he is a donkey.'

Amir Khusrau's claim of proficiency and perfections in both poetry and music may not be questioned. That he wrote at least two other volumes of poetry afterwards gives us an idea[16] of the time when he penned the above lines. Did he write a book on music and was it lost? Certainly he did not consider music as a 'Malāhi' or the forbidden pleasure as was laid down by the Islamic purists. He was a Sufi and a devoted disciple of Hazrat Nizāmuddīn[17] Auliā, who was well known for his fondness for music. Amir Khusrau had very high notions about the attainments of the Indians, including their incomparable skill in music. Among the many points of superiority, enumerated by him in his Masnawi, Nuh Sipahr, which the Indians enjoyed over the people of rest of the world, one was music. He writes (1) The 8th argument is that our sweet melodies are like the fire which burns the hearts and the souls (mind). (2) Nothing in this world known to us is similar to this (music) and this is not hidden from anybody that there is no such thing in the whole world. (3) Many musicians came from every direction and they also brought with them their excellent styles. (4) All of them took up this fine art and the intelligent

16. Of his 5 Diwans, the first three Tuhfat-us-Sighar, Wasat-ul-Hayat, Ghurat-ul-Kamāl were compiled in or about 671, 687 and 693 respectively, while the remaining two Baqya Naqya and Nihayat-ul Kamal are dated in about 718 and 724.

17. Of course Music linked with wine and women was condemned by the orthodox Muslims as Malahi or the forbidden pleasure. But the Chisti, Suhrawardi and Firdausi Sufis favoured Sama with conditions laid down about time, place, persons, contents and instruments. What to speak of Maulana Nizamuddin and his disciples, the majority of even the Dastah (couple pair of hands) was questioned on certain occasions. See the quotation from Amir Khusrau's Masnawi Afzal-ul-Fawaid given by Dr Mirza in his book p. 226.

sciences relating [illegible] Poetry and Music went hand in hand [illegible] Poets set poetry to [illegible] [illegible]

[illegible]

Musician said— [illegible] The science of music is better [illegible] (2) [illegible] pen, whereas it is not [illegible] and in books. (3) I expect that I shall [illegible] and have worked and tested them in the scale as [illegible] them. (4) I have already written three volumes of poetry, and if you believe me I can write three books on music too. (5) I may tell you the difference between the two in a way which is reasonable and correct and this can be justly appreciated by one who has expert [illegible] (6) You should take it that poetry is [illegible] in itself and does not depend on learning [illegible] or on the [illegible] (7) If anyone can recite verses with fine soft sounds and have the deepest tone (Zam-Ham) [illegible] for there would be no loss or defect [illegible] the meaning or in words. (8) On the other hand [illegible] singer may make use of "Haun Haun" and "Ham Ham" [illegible] in the music sense or elsewhere in it the whole of this would be

[illegible]

sweet-voiced ones the pen of my master will help me to complete it. It would be quite appropriate if I wrote about all the attributes of the people of this region, and it would not be my fault if I display on paper the chief festivities through the ink.'

But in his two other Masnavis, *Ishqa* (love episodes of Khizr Khan and Deval Devi) and *Qiran-us-Sâadein* (meeting of the propitious stars) all that we get is the Arabo-Persian descriptive term merely for musical instruments, modes and notes. The Sitar or Âlat instruments mentioned by him are Chang, Duff, Rabab, Nâl, Tambur, Barbat, Rud, Ud, Tabal, Tâus, Nehr, Dohal, Karna, Shahnâi etc. and the terms 'sout' (sund or verses set to music), 'Lahn' (modal melodies), 'Naghma' (melodic modes) 'Parda' (airs or tones) which he frequently makes use of give us an idea of the foreign culture-sources with which he was saturated. The Hindi term Tal loses its meaning of time-measurement and becomes in Amir Khusrau's Ashiqa, a Persian word meaning an instrument[12] which was a sort of cymbal with bell metals and played with a stick. What attracts us more in Ashiqa are a few Indian instruments and artists, but this also does not help us much. As regards the story of Amir Khusrau getting the coveted epithet of Nâyak after he outshone the celebrated Southern musical Wizard, Gopal Nâyak,[13] in a poetic competition held for a number of days in the court of Alauddin Khalji, there is no reliable record to support it. He writes in the Risâl about musical contests between foreign (of Farghâna, Bakhurz and Khorasan) and Indian artists and hints at the superiority of the latter over the former, but he shrinks shy of all personal references in this connection.

Amir Khusrau was justly famous for his poetic talents and [illegible]. He was a [illegible] musicians, aesthetic critics and [illegible]. He [illegible] and [illegible] liberal

11. S[illegible] Amir Khusrau [illegible] but [illegible] p. 23, footnote [illegible] the [illegible] and the [illegible] parts, [illegible] of the Amir [illegible] Mughlat Kavi and Ishqân of the [illegible] period [illegible] connection.

12. Dr. [illegible] Nizami, Ain [illegible] Hat Anjumnishte Pari Rayân-i Dilli, p. 155.

13. Vide two articles on Gopal Nayak in J.I.M.A., Madras.

[illegible] Sarum Beat [illegible] Zirafkand [illegible] Aman Sarum, [illegible] [illegible] Farmer the [illegible] Darbar attributed to him. Instead of [illegible] Indian [illegible] has [illegible] [illegible] Farmer (Dr. A.?) [illegible] Arabic Abu-l Musiqi treatises, [illegible] Sarum [illegible] have served as their principal authorities by the subsequent musicians.

Amir Khusrau's long discourse in *Risala-i-Ijaz-Khusrawi* entitled *Intazam Lasl-o-Furu-e-Musiqi*[1] (Ramifications of the musical modes or the roots or the fundamentals of the art of Music and their derivatives), has of course something about [illegible] methods and things [illegible]. Instan as we shall see hereafter and in his [illegible] *Nuh Sipihr*[2] (Nine spheres) he points [illegible] his [illegible] on Indian music which he considered to be superior to that of the rest of the world. In his [illegible] [illegible] while enumerating the Desi music he writes: "Together with the sweet song of Sarod for every strokes of the bow on the pattern emits the pleasing, plaintive notes like those of the harps the Veena. There is no wonder if the heart [illegible] for the musical [illegible] [illegible] of every melodious notes infuses new life. [illegible] like the (gurgling) noise produced by the throats of [illegible] goblets (Bat-o-Khad). If I propose to draw the picture of the

[illegible]

[illegible] Sarum [illegible] 12th century was [illegible] [illegible] by Dr. Wazir Mohammad [illegible] Khusrau. He [illegible] [illegible]

[illegible]

also the musical scales increased at the hands of the musicians. The seven sounds or notes of the Saptak or [illegible] in the Vedic [illegible] and called the Shruti were augmented with five Vikrit Sv[illegible] [illegible] and 12 Notes. There were [illegible] Mūrchanas which were distributed [illegible] various Ragas and were made use of as what is [illegible] at the present time with the Thats, the source of the Ragas. [illegible] the relative position of the series of musical notes [illegible] the [illegible] of combining sounds in [illegible] [illegible] notes. We may [illegible] to the four principal systems or Matas of music which Mirza Khan, the 17th Century author of *Tuhfat-ul-Hind*,[6] mentions, probably, on the authority of Somnath who described them in his treatise, *Rāg Vivodha* or the Doctrines of the Musical Modes.

It is for the experts and the learned to say something about the nature, extent and prevalence of all these multifarious developments at the time of Amir Khusrau. We have to ransack his own writings to justify the assumptions about his awareness of the distinctive features of the classical system of Indian music and about his contributions to the composite growth of the Indian culture. Doubtlessly he gives ample proofs of his knowledge of, and infatuation for the Arabo-Persian system of music, but he is completely silent about his own alleged innovations or assimilative efforts. He makes no mention of Sih-tar[7] (Sitār or the type of guitar with three strings) or Tabla (small tambourine) nor of the Modes and Airs of a composite character such as

5 See Popley's Glossary of Musical Words and Phrases.

6 Cap. C. R. Day, Music and Musical Instruments, p. 14. These were of Invention of Bharata, of Hanuman or Narad, of Cadanah. By the way he is not fair in his remarks about the responsibility of the Muslims for the deterioration and decay of music like other arts. K. T. Shah would, however, have us believe that "the case art that the muslims did not destroy was music." (The Splendour That Was Ind)

7 On the other hand Nizami Ganjawi, the great Persian poet who died in 600 A.D. [illegible] a century and a quarter before his own [illegible] has made [illegible] use of this three stringed instrument which he [illegible] Seh-tar [illegible] Sitar. Seh-tar Bi-Ahad Awaz Mizad- Sarmast-Arghanun [illegible] Sitar Mizad. (The Sitar of Barbad sent out its melodious note. It kept itself in time of harmony with the Arghanun or organ). "Nikisa Chun Ze Shah Atash Barangekhte Seh-tar Barbad Abe Bare Rekht" Nikisa Chun Zad In Tasvar Bar Chang Seh-tar Barbad Barbasat Ahang

[illegible] Music was regarded by the ancient Hindus as [illegible] and [illegible] rites and devotional rather than [illegible] [illegible] the Muslims and [illegible] Persians [illegible] the [illegible] in India has been [illegible] [illegible] It has [illegible] devo- [illegible] circles and folk songs [illegible] and we have many [illegible] system of [illegible] are [illegible] or fingerstrokes on other bowed or [illegible] instruments in temples or on sacred and ceremonial occasions and in social festivals, fairs and performances (Dhrupad [illegible] of the old drama Murhana Jat [illegible] [illegible] (grandeur) Sapta (the [illegible] of 7 Notes) [illegible] Sharp or Sur [illegible] and [illegible] Dhun [illegible] [illegible] and developments came with the [illegible] by the artists in their [illegible] [illegible] Sārangdhar, Sem[illegible] [illegible] Ragas [illegible] [illegible] and its Pairs or Pairs [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] Ragas [illegible] [illegible] of Indian [illegible]

[illegible] Music Theory [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

contemporary sources about the contributions of the early Muslims who are credited by many with having taken a living for, adopting, patronising and popularising Indian Music. This should especially be the case with the 13th century Turkish noble and savant, Amir Khusrau, who being the son of an Indian mother was so very eulogistic of men and things Indian and who spoke of himself as the "Parrot of Hind". He was not only "one of the most prolific poets that the world has ever produced" but has also been regarded as the greatest musician at the court of Alauddin Khilji, and his immediate predecessors and successors and as one of the earliest and the greatest exponents of a common and mixed culture. A good deal of tradition has gathered round about his musicianship, both on the theoretical and practical sides. Are we justified in accepting at its face value all that the traditional account tells us about his innovations, modifications and contributions?

Let us realise the exact position and assess the extent and value of his achievements in respect of melodic and rhythmic notes, forms and instrumentation in the light of what we find in his own writings, both prose and poetical. To understand better the claims that have been put forward on his behalf for giving an Arabo-Persian orientation to the indigenous Indian system and helping the establishment of what has been called chief features, nature and elements of the classical system of Indo-Islamic music, it is worth-while to consider very briefly, the chief features, nature and elements of the classical system of India which Amir Khusrau is supposed to have influenced to some extent.

Few nations of the world can claim to have such hoary and continuous traditions about the taste for, and contribution to, the science of sweet sounds and the skilled knowledge of and performance on, musical instruments invented to enhance the vocal charms, as the Indian. The well preserved traditions about the Vedic slokas chanted in sweet, sonorous, plaintive but dignified voices by the ancient Indians to the accompaniment of the sacred Vina which sent forth streams of rhapsodies tell us not only of the antiquity but also of the source and nature of early

3 Elliot and Dowson *History of India as told by its own Historians*, Vol. III

Amir Khusrau and Music

[illegible]

[illegible] Mr Alois [illegible] [illegible] the eminence of the foreign [illegible] Persian influence on Northern [illegible] [illegible] that Northern music [illegible] [illegible] for [illegible] [illegible] Perhaps [illegible] for H. G. Farmer [illegible] [illegible] and developed Arab-Persian [illegible] Cultural [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

But we [illegible] to [illegible] facts [illegible] the [illegible] and contemporary [illegible]

1. [illegible] Madras [illegible]
2. [illegible] Arabian Music, Instrument Music and [illegible] Persian Music, [illegible] JRAS [illegible] Instruments [illegible] JRAS, London.

12. See Quraishi A S D., p. 59 for the office and its functions.

13 See Elliot Vol II for the traditional account of this reputed Saint-Warrior whose tomb was visited by the Tuglaq Sultans and by Haji Ilyas of Bengal and is still an object of veneration and visitation by both Hindus and Muslims The 14th century Sufi Saint of Bihar, H. Sharfuddin Yahya Maneri refers in his Malfuz to the myth that had gathered about him.

14. He is not to be confused with his namesake who was sent by Malik Kafur to blind Khizir Khan at Gwalior about half a century later.

15 Kilokhari (Hisar-i-Nau) was situated at a distance of about 3 miles in the north east of old Delhi on the western bank of Jamuna. Qaiqubad who ascended the throne in 686 had built a place there. The site had existed before and was not founded by Qaiqubad as the author of *Asar-us-Sanadid* would have us believe

16. See the writer's paper already referred to under 9

17 Ghayasuddin Ahmad, Yaminuddin Mubarak, Nuruddin Tayyab, Vol. IV.

18 All these except one or two have been noticed and explained by Quraishi.

19 Those who regard Amir Khusrau as the first and the sure type of Indo-Muslim culture and have read about the glorification of everything Indian in Nuhsipahr for which Mubarak Khalji, the admirer of the renegade Hindu, Khusru Khan, gave him an elephant weight of silver will be struck by such vilification as "*Dau Zakhi Zana Hindu Zada*" and other expressions elsewhere One can understand the use of opprobrious epithets of "*Malayeen i-Kaffar*" and "*Hindawan-i-Pand* when dealing with "*Hindawan Sarkash*" (11-57-75) and also the authors ire at petty Hindu officials like Deochand, accountants, scribes, Ahiro, merchants, shopkeepers, money-changers etc who were corrupt and dishonest He could write about "*Dil-i Ahni-i-Hindawan-i-Zaigur Zirfia*" (1-21) for it was so difficult to make the Hindus, specially of high castes, shake off the old beliefs and creeds "One may not object very much to such statements as the reverence shown like that of the Brahmins towards the cows and of the washermen to the ass" and also "rubbing the head of humility towards a heap of cow dung like the Hindus" (E-131). He could make the sword retort against the claim of the pen by saying "Oh you juggling Hindu, you have been playing in the hands of the Hindus and like Brahmins you have become immersed in the Baid (vedas) and as the idol worshipper at Benaras you have been rubbing ashes on your body etc" (V-36) But one could not expect the favourite follower of the highly liberal and Indianized mystic Sufi, H Nizamuddin Aulia, to describe the stone idol worshipped by the Hindus as '*Ka Jibal Istinja*' (IV-138)

20 Paper referred to under 4.

21 For the perverted tastes of the time see the sixth section of the 5th Risala entitled humour ' indecent even to the extent of vulgarity"

22 For his views about women see his letter addressed to his daughter, Mastura, in *Maktu ul-Anwar*. Maqala 22.

others finds his head covered with dust. The carpenter's chisel does not work without its head being rubbed (sharpened), and the teeth of the saw works only when many of the fine and sharp points are handed by more than two. The satiety of the sieve is the result of the magnanimity of the grinding stone or handmill. The discourses (*Maqamat*) can be had from the book of Hamadani and not from the silken (*Hariri*) cloth For a wise man restrained hand (economical habit) is better than a long turban (pride). For eyes redrose are worse than thorn as nail is better for pupils than thaw or web in the eye. When they asked the pomegranate why it laughed behind the curtain, the counter question came why with every thing was chewed with teeth they chewed all its own teeth (II 191-201).

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2 Life and works of Amir Khusrau

3 Life and conditions of the people of Hindustan

4 (a) Betel chewing among early Muslim of India, based mainly on Risail ul-Ijaz (Printed).

(b) Amir Khusrau on Music in *Risail-i-Ijaz-i Khusrau* (All India Oriental Conference, Aligarh).

(c) Fragmentary information of historical interest from *Risail-i-Ijaz* (un-published).

(d) Life and conditions as depicted by Amir Khusrau in *Risail-i-Ijaz* (Indian History Congress Mysore)

5. O P L Ms

6 The extent of land tilled by peasants with 10 ploughs and part of earlier Ibrahim Khan quoted by Dr Irfan Habib Agrarian system of Mughal India), refers to ancient practice of assessing revenue by counting the number of ploughs which prevailed in some parts of the Deccan in the 17th century (p 145 226-27)

7 *Risail-i-Ijaz* p 5 (a)

8 Also called *Amir-i-Mamlik* who was responsible for the recruitment payment and inspection of troops as well as transport and communication (Qureishi) *Administration of the Sultanate of Delhi* (p 105-13)

9 See the writer's paper entitled 'Matters of historical interest in *Risail-i-Ijaz-Khusrau*' (Ranchi Session of All India History Congress.

10 Alauddin Khalji is credited with the introduction of a systematic branding of the horse brought by the troopers The system called 'Dagh' really dates back to the Umayyads (Qureishi)

11 See Amir Ali *History of the Saracens*

One who sees himself does not see God. The self-seeing and self-centred person cannot realise God. One should be afraid of him who has no fear of God. The earth is so complaisant as to kiss the palm of the kings' feet in the same way as that of the beggar. Water is a great bestower for it wets or moistens whatever it comes in contact with. Whosoever is fiery-tempered lives a life without water, lustre or dignity. The head which does not sustain the burden of anyone becomes itself a burden on other's shoulder. Tides wash all kinds of dirt with water but the dirt of the water itself cannot be washed off. One can live without bread but not without water. Harsh words break an impudent eye (unkind ungrateful person) as the diamond is broken by stone. One who is content with little remains alive and the poor (*Ra'indal*) is one who has a good face. In thirst thousands of pearls are not worth a drop of water. The fool is mindful of his beard and the wise man of his virtues. Good and benevolent actions brighten the face (lead to good name and celebrity). The adornment of the manly person lies in his face being reddened in battle, while the woman becomes red-faced by the use of rouge. A man without character has no weight (esteem or reputation). The hands of a manly person itches for giving and those of a miser for taking. The shoemaker chews the smeared leather but earns an honest food. The closed fist is the lock to paradise and the open finger is the key to God's mercy. The fingers of artisan or labourer are the key to his livelihood, while the palm of the unskilled one is like a beggar's bowl. A man who does not help the belly of others is no better than an animal which looks to its own belly. The yarn maker (weaver) goes forward while the rope maker moves backward. The dark coloured blacksmith is responsible for the redness (quality) of the iron. The needle does not its work steadily like a spy, while the sword is a trumpeter of the news. The needle covers the person and the thread is pierced (fitted) into its eye. Generosity should be learnt from the bow (eye) which gives out the things swifted and holds back bran or coarse chaff. The weighing scale is miserly for it bends down as soon as it receives something. The bride who hides herself behind the sieve (or thing perforated) needs no prying. To cut the arm is better than the arms being cut down (for theft, i.e. the executioner is better than the thief). One who digs the foundation of the houses of

[illegible] the boy with pure and clean robe so as to have the two [illegible] of God and the healing ointment for the wounds and for the satisfaction of carrying out the [illegible] of Muhammad who has shown the way of circumcising [illegible] command both obligatory and optional. I Your [illegible] and Muslim who always speak of with praise and [illegible] bend my head of service down to the [illegible] on the circumcision of your dear [illegible] and annoying to our enemies. I [illegible] offer sweets like an [illegible] and [illegible] take his bath quite [illegible] and he will raise fresh like a [illegible] of his fathers and [illegible] a particular kind of dress [illegible] You [illegible] the effect of the [illegible] [illegible] Verse [illegible] head against the [illegible]

There are references to the way the Muslims of different classes and both sexes were dressed. The garments of women consisted of *Niqab* (veil hanging over the face), a distinctive mark of married women of upper classes, *'Chadar'* (scarf), *Qasab* (woman's head gear), *'Meqna'* (a veil of muslin over the head and reaching to the ground), *Pae, Cha* (drawer or trouser), *Pairahan* (loose or close-fitted shirt), *'Sarawil'*, *'Izar'*, *Pancha* / *Shalwar* (kinds of trouser worn by both women and men), *Resha-ha-i-Damni'* (women's skirt mounted with fringes), *'Barani* (an outer garment to keep off rains, used by both), *'Sangchi-i-Zanon'* (Sina-posh or breast-belt), *'Gulband'* (neck cloth). They used cosmetics like *Ghaza Guiguna'*, Sandal etc. and many other perfumes, had *'Gulala* (locks of hair hanging loose), *'J'ad'* (ringlets or curly locks) and they parted the hair just in the middle of the head, *'Rahana Az Farq-i-rast rast karda'* (1-21 i.e. track made straight in the centre of the head).

There were great rejoicings when a child, male or female, was born. But the birth of a son was welcomed for prolonging the pedigree of the family. A father was felicitated on the birth of his son who was given a name and a family surname. Shamsuddin Abubakar Khwaja Ainuddin, the maternal uncle of a child, quite in keeping with his high position, showered much gifts and presents (*'Rekhatani*) with open hands on his subordinates. We also get a reference of some economic importance. Bibi Zubaida, the mother of the child, had very little milk in her breast. Her sister, Khadija, suckled the child for some days, and then had to stop. But she offered 10 silver Tankas in lieu of her milk, and with this she purchased a nanda's wet nurse so that the child should get sufficient milk and be at ease (II 151-152).

The following piece is of some importance as it tells us of the ceremonies observed both before and after a boy is circumcised, and also refers to a common belief that the sun in the sky cast an evil influence on some persons down on earth to avert which [illegible] to be given away in [illegible] of the [illegible] which is both obligatory and [illegible] and ablution or physical wash which lead to the [illegible] the pleasure of executing [illegible] of investing

faults of one or the other. One Nachuddin had married the beautiful [illegible] daughter of Khawja Sufi Bu[illegible] father and daughter had made [illegible] He [illegible] much [illegible] and [illegible] words of [illegible] saw that [illegible] to break his [illegible] with [illegible] of [illegible] She [illegible] to her [illegible] Khawja Ahmad [illegible] her under [illegible] [illegible] towards [illegible] her [illegible] [illegible] Bu Bakr Khawja [illegible] grandmother [illegible] the [illegible] with [illegible] beads [illegible] hand [illegible] and [illegible] the relations between the [illegible] and her [illegible] [illegible] They [illegible] Khawja [illegible] was [illegible] it was [illegible] and [illegible] and [illegible] fire of enmity like Bu Lahab (11-159)

[illegible]

(*Kabu*) with many rings in the chain [illegible] affections are of one form, if [illegible] between them, for a wom[illegible]

her away to his house. The writer was prepared to disclose the details which might expose him thoroughly (II-158-60). Babi Nusrat had a son name Hussam. His tongue enabled him to gain a mastery over both speech and writing and he was very brave and intrepid. He had also asked for the hands of these girls. But he had become notorious for killing people. The writer says that when he came to know of his crimes he kept quiet. Had Hussam been like a mirror even then he would not look at his face. The writer made an alternative suggestion. There was an attendant of that Malik-Aziz named Jauhar who had virtually adopted him as his son. He was a writer by profession, was himself free and was born of a free and noble person. In the first place he was a free-born *Ahrari* man and secondly, for ten years he had been in the service of wise and learned scholars and had been responsible for their correspondence. The writer [illegible] that the veiled one should be united in wedlock with him so that the couple might enjoy a happy married life. (II-165)

A certain person while offering his congratulations on the happy marriage of his friend [illegible] his blessings like heavenly gifts and presents. (*Rahnamai Tariqat*) on the couple and wishes a happy prosperous life for them. [illegible] a note of warning. "Now that this veil on the chamber of your heart [illegible] you may devote yourself heart and soul to [illegible] should not disappoint your youth by indulgence in [illegible] ordinary pleasures. You should keep your private [illegible] [illegible] Seraphim [illegible] the wife would become the husband. If the wife was ordained to lead [illegible] you will become the wife and the wife would become the husband."

Sometimes conjugal relations became strained for the

Even if the son gives his estates to her for the 30 months of the [illegible] period, he cannot discharge her debts [illegible] the mother he will desert the house [illegible] of the Mother. Amit Khusrau [illegible] the mother [illegible] make the son [illegible] up under the [illegible] the [illegible] which [illegible] [illegible] of the things [illegible] I find [illegible] hand [illegible] than the hand (IV-50)

We get further [illegible] of women marriage [illegible] from Polygamy was the [illegible] at the Islamic Law [illegible] upon [illegible] 'Bab' [illegible] compared with [illegible] recognize or the other. The [illegible] were different from what we [illegible] [illegible] expressed [illegible] [illegible] Khusrau [illegible] of the principle [illegible] [illegible] of the [illegible] of Khusrau [illegible] the fact [illegible] [illegible] feet [illegible] Khusrau [illegible]

[illegible] the father [illegible] [illegible] Khusrau [illegible] [illegible] Khusrau [illegible] [illegible] Khusrau

(II-164) and at another "Masuma the queen-mother may God safeguard and promote her purity, abstinence and good health is always engaged in her religious duties, devotional exercises and fit and proper prayers (III-67). Amir Khusrau's Fatima, Khadija, Aisha, Mastura, Zainab and Zahra were models of noble virtues, piety, chastity etc. (I-89). Saman Khatun and Aghawan Khatun daughters of Bibi Nabat, were so continent, pure, chaste, and secluded that even the wind had not success within their veiled sanctuary (II-89). Though a connoisseur of the art of music, our author looked askance at ladies and once in consa songs 'such and such a daughter has not listened to *Bang-i-Sarod* or melodious music' (II-65). He writes appreciatively about 'the daughter who keeps herself concealed even from the eyes of the mother and father (II-165), the women who is fully amenable to her husband's wishes, may her husband continue to be tied to her by affection and by *Kabin* or marriage contract' (II-164), the father-in-law who is very friendly and affectionate towards his son-in-law for the sake of the peace and happiness of the daughter (II-1[illegible]). He condemns the strife-torn wife *Sakita* and he leaves a sigh of relief at the liberation of her husband from her by his death (III-160).

Our author wanted that women should occupy their proper place in society and recognize, along with their husbands, that they had their rights as well as duties and responsibilities. He insisted upon filial affection and for have no special regards and respects for the mother and proper adjustment of relation between husband and wife to run a happy household life. The mother gives her milk and brings up the child. The son also rolls in the feet of the mother, [illegible] and [illegible] warmth, dozen and affectionate care to go to hell. If the son causes any pain and affliction to the parents his face will be blackened. Amir Khusrau quotes the Qur'anic verse 'I have given a mandate that they should do good to the parents. I pray to God to be kind to and have mercy and forgiveness on my parents who have brought me up since childhood.' The son has to pay special regards to the mother who carried on her load with extreme trouble and gave birth to him after in extreme pain'. Even a particle of the pain and trouble she has undergone in giving birth to her son is enough to weigh down the scale in his favour on the judgement Day".

Navaka had become well known in that region for her refined taste and her nose had made her much too self-conscious.

But we may leave out such things. We have already dealt with Turmat Khatun[illegible] who because she was highly [illegible] in music, both vocal and instrumental, had been introduced by the author to the court of the king and had very soon been put in charge of [illegible] Persian and Indian Musicians. Another which deserves a passing notice has been named Shamma Khatun, the beautiful minstrel whose presence in the Turkish Sultan's assembly was first celebrated by *Mawlana Muzaffar Karim* the king of Sermonisers, Khwaja Afzal. He [illegible] drew all sorts of persons, learned, poor, free and [illegible] and secluded women of the palace (*Maral*). There were also Indian women or temple dancers (*Jamariya*). There [illegible] private places allotted to them so that the [illegible] of persons who would like to be equipped in [illegible] with the learned and [illegible] should keep themselves away from the [illegible] ones (*Mukhaddarat*). All such [illegible] were made in [illegible] a place from where they could [illegible] fere with the [illegible]. Shamma Khatun, the *Murabbi* [illegible], was [illegible] of the [illegible] of the Harem. *Mawlana Muzaffar* [illegible] by other [illegible] the word *Hazz*. Mawlana [illegible] and *Hazzani* (feminine gender) [illegible] that it was made to serve the assembly. A 245

In an age when the general standard of morality was [illegible] their veils, the learned discourses of [illegible]

he has been bred and brought up to be of a good character he [illegible] like a beautiful rose flower of paradise though he is born of a hellish Hindu. If he is addressed as *Tuba Lak* (what a sweet and delicious fruit of the *Tube* tree of the Paradise) this will remind him of the *Lac* or gum of the Bar tree. Where there is a moon-faced youthful slave there is always a Khwaja ready to purchase him. One slave with pierced ears and ornaments is better than 100 of free run-away ones. Although a youthful Hindu slave is like a make-weight of the scale yet he is a stone which is worth having for gold. But can a slave remember (be grateful to) his master when he becomes proud of his prosperity? As soon as such a slave becomes sure of his place he would break the heads of men into pieces. Every vein and fibre of a Hindu slave makes him turn back towards his sacred thread. As compared with an old freely-moving slave the newly purchased ones must be closely kept in their places. The ill-natured low-born slave can never be of good conduct. The Khwaja who is enamoured of his slave whose body is as fair and white and as silver but who is gambler should not feel disgusted with him if he spends his money lavishly on the game of dice (II-168-69).

Further on we are told of two types of female slaves, one held dear and kept for pleasure and enjoyment and the other virtually serving as a maid-servant doing rough domestic works like the drawing of water and grinding the corn. Amir Khusrau points out the difference between them and the *Bibi* (wedded wife) who treated them harshly and kept them ill-starved and under her watchful eyes (I-70).

There is a long array of characteristic names of women largely Turkish and Muslim and also some Indian. There is a satirical reference to some southern woman named *Dritt* of Deogiri who had made her black face white by smearing it from the flour mill to cast glamorous side glances on people and 'Uchhedi, the *Nayaka* (the mistress of a brothel) the typical representative of the *Nayakas* of Hind. The women followers of old *Nayaka* always look youthful amidst men. Her ears were like water-drawing buckets, amazing in well, and her lips were like raised sides of a reservoir. On one side of her nose a pearl was suspended from the nostril while on the other the snot having frozen on account of cold breeze looked like a hanging pearl superior and better than pearls. This

and stature for they are worth more than the price demanded. But the best of the Turks and plenty of them come from Yamen. They are very [illegible] and sedate. The moon-faced Turks [illegible] down of the cheeks are [illegible]. The Chinese are [illegible] and [illegible] with wrinkles on their foreheads. The Moors are dark-tongued and have [illegible] like those of the Tartars. The Tibetans are narrow-eyed and their noses are lost in their faces.

As regards the female slaves, some of Turkish extraction [illegible] have been brought from China were [illegible] fair complexion and the broker [illegible] the price demanded when [illegible] reflections of their faces and [illegible]. The Chinese [illegible] girl who [illegible] musk-scented hair [illegible] that [illegible] Chinese musk [illegible] [illegible]. Although Indian and Turkish [illegible] white complexioned [illegible], yet [illegible] Western [illegible] while the Turks [illegible] Indian [illegible] girl [illegible] two more [illegible] would have [illegible] The Turkish slave girl is [illegible] purchasing when the Indian [illegible] would be passed off. The [illegible] the Turkish [illegible] near Qibchaq [illegible] [illegible] dispersed and trusts [illegible] water. It [illegible] Turks [illegible] flute up the fire but [illegible] Indian [illegible] water and perform [illegible] The [illegible] the Turkish [illegible] Although the Turkish female slaves are by nature white complexioned, some of them [illegible] their [illegible] face of the feet of black-faced [illegible] be [illegible] to their [illegible] Auchwitz [illegible] disgraced or black faced (V., 65-67).

About the Hindu slave boy" Amir Khusrau writes 'As

groups. We get descriptive references to such people as were the chief arms of the Turkish bureaucracy and ran the machinery of the government. There are many fictitious names which may be ignored but the official titles[18] of, and functions performed by such peoples as *Wazir*, *Diwan*, *Qazi*, *Mufti*, *Sadar Jahan*, *Vakil-i-Dar*, *Sipahsalar*, *Amir-i-Hajib*, *Amir-i-Barbak*, *Dabir-i-Khas*, *Nadim*, *Kitab Khan*, *Dadbak*, or *Amir-i-Dad*, *Malik Ariz*, *Mir-i-Bahr*, *Mir-i-Shikar*, *Akhur Bak*, *Mustaufi-ul-Mumalik*, *Mushrif-ul-Mumalik*, *Mutasarrif*, *Muqti*, *Mohtasib*, *Shahna*, *Kotwal*, *Khuta*, *Nazir-i-Mumalik*, *Sar Silahdar*, *Sar Jandar*, *Amir-i-Sadda* etc., cannot but attract our notice. We come across industrial artisans including many Muslims, such as textile workers and handloom weavers, oil pressers, leather workers, tailors, needle-workers, embroiderers, goldsmith, goldbeaters, makers of swords and bows and arrows, brass and metal workers, blacksmith, carpenters. There are letters about grain merchants, shop-keepers, money-changers, peasants, cultivators, agricultural labourers, menials like barbers, washerman. The professional workers mentioned are cooks, bakers, confectioners, butchers, fishermen, distiller, wood-cutters, painters. Minstrels of both sexes, snake charmers, jugglers, jesters, harlots, old wenches also find a place in the volume. This artisans are both highly skilful and unskilled, good and bad. Men of such a large and varied occupational groups earned their livelihood by means fair and also corrupt and deceitful. There are also interesting descriptions of slaves of both sexes of various ages and of different races and nationalities, foreign and indigenous, and possessing some special characteristics of the town.

A *Farman* with the royal seal (*Tughra*) dated A.H. 70[illegible] and addressed to the merchants of Cambay refers to commodities [illegible] of [illegible] especially [illegible] imported [illegible] from [illegible] Bahrain, [illegible] Maghrib, [illegible] Abyssinia and [illegible] (Bilad-al-Habash, [illegible] Zanj) were [illegible] [illegible] and [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

and analyse the contents; take out matter which [illegible] some evidential value by clearing the grain from the husk and piece together the [illegible] and scattered [illegible] of the life and conditions [illegible] or determination [illegible] material sense of the people of the [illegible] century [illegible] an idea of some aspects of the contemporary society [illegible] economic and [illegible] despite the colouring given to it by the magnet [illegible] the writer

Amir Khusrau, the foremost creative artist of the age, had an idea [illegible] and a man [illegible] astronomy [illegible] studied [illegible] from various points (vide passim)

There [illegible] for a less [illegible] researcher [illegible] the *Rasa* [illegible] show [illegible] by the [illegible] [illegible] people [illegible] and had [illegible] He [illegible] mostly with men of normal social life

Those who figure frequently [illegible] variety of people such as [illegible] government and men [illegible]

behave like breeze so as to collect all the leaves of this species, wherever they had been lying scattered in the treasury of the writer's book into a bunch of rose buds and place the same as a bouquet in my hands'. "These meaningful matters (*Maniat-sat*) were arranged in a way which is a speciality of this writer. During the course of my writings I had penned down things simple and compound, prefaces and premises, short and long examples and big and small epistles and letters of charming significance. These were compiled with extreme pain and labour, physical and mental. I have been able to set all these subject of thought and care in their proper places so that there should not remain angularities to put strain on men of refined taste. At the end he writes: If in the garden of elegant writing my sincere friends may find some fanciful pictures, they should take them to have come out unintentionally, and because the gardener while cultivating the golden jasmine and yellow roses could not help breaking the monotony by bringing in some red tulips also. If they see a wrong thing like an ant in a mixture of rose water and syrup (*sharbat*) and find a mistaken point like the head of a fly fallen in a cup of honey they should not abstain from it. In the matter of Imam Shafi but follow the way of Nomin (Imam Abu Hanifa, Imam-i-Azam) for the two feathers are in antidote of the poison of one feather" (V-169-70).

The book rhapsodically described (V-167) by its author as annals of the age and of countless dates' *Tarikh-i-Rozgar wa Tarikh-i-Beshumar* has its limitations. It was composed to display the author's skill in providing elaborate specimens of epistolary compositions for the edification of the young learners, and was not written as a work of social history. From such literary works one should not expect to get a full and accurate picture of contemporary life, specially when the author frankly admits that the compositions included some fanciful picture and even created or invented by his mind. The case of the letter (Ibar Hajh) is an instance in point (IV-144-56-18). Some references to certain things of domestic life and seem to have been deliberately left incomplete and [illegible] rhetorical flourishes. The dates and facts mentioned in one of the documents vary from those found in standard [illegible] works. But if we leave aside the rhetorics [illegible]

came in 659=1261 Amir Khusrau has confused him with al-Mustakfi Billah who flourished between A.H. 700 and 740.

A short extract, though undated, refers to an incident that happened in A.H. 651-652 in the reign of Nasiruddin Mahmud which is the earliest mentioned in the *Risal* and it also shows the author's self-imposed restraint and profuse use of literary artistry when dealing with some historical personalities who were subjects of controversy. Imaduddin Rayhan the Wakil-Dar[1] of Sultan Mahmud had temporarily ousted and exiled Balban before his own dismissal and removal to Bahraich where he was done to death in 653. The nobles had expelled the leading members of the Turkish party including the historian Minhaj Siraj. It was terrible about the wide-spread hatred of the mamluks[2] of Bahraich of the Ghaznavid period. Malik Sulta Ghaz, who had become more of a legendary figure rather than a historical personality in the Hindi country. The fragrance of the wood of his mausoleum at Bahraich had made the [illegible] Hindustan aromatic. [illegible] Balban[4] the addressee was [illegible] and [illegible] time among [illegible] and companions near the mausoleum was advised [illegible] [illegible] and [illegible] idea of going to Kara Khusrau Kara Khusrau Dar [illegible] Kishlu the tuhfa [illegible] [illegible] secondary [illegible] and had become proud and arrogant [illegible] Sultan Balban had turned against [illegible] and [illegible] orders to destroy them root and branch. The addressee was advised to make no [illegible] of [illegible] and place he was occupying. He considered [illegible] [illegible] and unalterable. (II 55 b).

[illegible] interesting to see what Amir Khusrau says about the [illegible] opinion. He says that the authors [illegible] are real and unalterable. The thoughts [illegible] mind, of my humble self are [illegible] capable of being changed. [illegible] As [illegible]

their weapons like the mouth of the snakes and their proneness to infidelity made them dart their arrows towards the chandeliers of *Qibla*, but fortune ultimately favoured the troops of Nasirul Malk as the enemies were burnt like moths in the fire of hell. Those who turned their face towards the house of God recited the exalted formula, promised to assist the keepers of the faith in keeping the land of Islam burning and throwing the burning wicks in the temples, were spared from the wrath of the Haji. Those who did not do so were treated like the Mongols and had the chains put around their necks. It was a proof of the victory of the Solomon of the King that he had entrusted the task of breaking the idol of Deogiri and helping the cause of the Hanafi faith. The elephants of gigantic size were directed towards the camp of the Haji without much stir. The writer has learnt from the informers in camp about the number of temples of the Hindus which were burnt by that lamp of truth. They have also reported that when the troops of the Rai of Deogiri heard the bugles sounded from the victorious camp they were demoralised. Ramdeo and his followers of Deogiri were ordered to take refuge with and find relief in the camp of Sirajul Haque (Khawaja Haji)".

As the noble virtues of the Haji, who is so much favoured by the helper of the commander of the faithful are too many to be described it is better that I should confine myself only to a petition of mine which has been issued from the most respected caliph, al-Mustansir Billah, for the despatch of horses, and it is hoped that the lamp of truth would have communicated this matter with verbal warmth to Ziyauddaula, suggesting also and at the same time that on the occasion of the brandings of the horses in the Diwan of Arz, he should help me. The writer, as far as he can. Such a help would be like the performance of the Haji. I who am a neighbour of the exalted kawan Hai expect much help from him and hope that my request would be fulfilled at the first instance and I may return to my humble house with an order for Ziya (Ziyaddaula) dated *Zilhijja* 702 (11 56 [illegible])

Apart from other things the date and name of the Caliph are obviously wrong. The Abbasid caliph of this name was not but one of the long line and he ruled from 623=1220 to 640=1242. There was a Cairo Caliph of this name but he

this is the only though a literary form of a and grant or *nam* of the 15th century available to us we cannot ignore it It ends with the hope that the sky-high land might be of some help to the donee by providing for him in future a magnificent hall *Rawaq* and for the populousness of the edifices of his kingdom This shows it to be a charitable grant

Some of the dated entries such as that of 5th *Shawwal*, 1140 of the *Fath Nama* composed by an author who had accompanied Babar's expedition to Lakhnauti (A.S 14, are genuine and valuable but the contents be said about others In some cases what we find in the *Rauzat* nothing but mere conjecture about date and facts and parts of the contents of some letters are definitely wide of the truth

As an example we may reproduce here a letter in which fact and fiction go together, and the entry recorded does not indicate the correct date It is addressed to "Sa'id Malik Sirajuddin Hasan Arzani" Jawari and occurs on pp 56-60 of the second *Risala* Barani frequently refers to Khan-i-Jahan Malik Idriqiya Arz-i-Mumalik who was sent to Mawlana Kafur on the occasion of his expedition to Devagiri Dhul Samadar 1340 Muharram A H 740 respectively He says that the country of Devagiri was and Ramdeo was carried to Delhi with high honour Khan Jahan was to attend to the administration of the army the collection of captives and for securing the elephants and spoils Now let us see how Amir Khusrau describes the expedition to Devagiri Malik Kafur mentioned in the letter

emergent and

chronogram '*Zebi*' and '*Tarsil*' which yield the year A H. 719 But in the preface of the Ghurratul[5] Kamal he gives his correct age which was 34 in A H 685 Thus he was born in 651 and was 68 and not 70 in A H 719 His scribblings continued till two years before his death which happend in A H 725, for it comes out in the chronogram given in an epistle by adding the letters of '*Jau*' and '*Gandum*' to that of *Sare Kha*', that is the letter '*Khe*'. The first is devoid of date, and the third Risala has only two dates A H 707 and 708 and of the dated pieces of the 5th Risala only one has A.H 702 and the rest are between A H 684 and 687 indicating that they are the earliest of the whole lot Only two of the 29 pieces of the second Risala are dated 690 and 697 and the remaining range between A H 700 and 716. As regards the 11 dated pieces of the 4th volume only that at the end, mistaken by Dr Mirza as the date of the compilation of all the four volumes has A H 682 and the rest except one (of A.H. 723) covers the period from A H. 702 to 716.

This (exceptional) document of some importance and supposed to be a grant by way of *Inam* (gift or assignment of a rent free land) to a warrior chief described also as professional village husbandman is as follows —I have ordered all the cultivators who break the earth and put the seed therein that they, with the help of natural rains, should grow and produce pearl-like grains They who are as numerous as the particles of sands have been made to enjoy my favours and protection so that they can maintain cultivation in proper condition, and I nurse and encourage them in these respects I have also decreed an Inam grant from the beginning of Rabi 723, of as many as ten units of ploughable land (Dah-i-Jat[5] wanan)) in the environs of village Dhalkoot to Amir Sipahsalar, favourite of the king Harisiddin Dahqan-i Zamin-i-fawar so that out of what he gets as proceeds from that barren (short) land he may devote something by way of charity (*Tasadduq*) to the sepulchres of those destitute but pious people whose dishevelled hairs are loaded with dust, who have only two sheets of cloth to cover their bodies, and who are of such high spiritual position that whatever they swear by God is made true by God' (V 103-4) The *Risala* is replete with analogies, similes, puzzles and riddles, and in this piece all the words are connected [illegible] and derived from land. As

accomplishments. But it has to be admitted that though the literary portraits cannot compete with handy manuals of factual information, yet in the field of social history they are not absolutely negligible for the ornate picture that emerges gives perhaps some new and more accurate delineation of certain aspects of social life than is found in official records and chronicles. Such works were not command performances and suffered from little or no inhibitions.

Dr. Wahid Mirza[1] was the first scholar to draw our attention to the [illegible] of verses scattered in the pages of the pondered [illegible] *Risala* [illegible] *Khusrawi*[5] (in number) that are both informative and instructive. He found in them "some useful bits of information about the social conditions, the state of learning, the sciences, and political atmosphere of the age." He also refers to some important items concerning the poet's biography. The late Dr. Muhammad Ashraf went further in his appraisal of this vast work and in his classification of matters relevant to the subject of his valuable book. He wrote about its contents that they were "there to add instructive information of a varied character, besides many vivid descriptions of various social phenomena and references to manners and morals." One who has the patience to go through the book will agree with him that in it the poet or the author has a free and unfettered play.[2] Some of the species and discourses of Amir Khusrau in the *Risala* have been already utilized by the present writer, and this paper and some others, which may follow, may be taken to be a supplement to the studies already offered to the readers.[4]

The problem of dating the book and documents and of the credibility of Amir Khusrau's information are not as easy as Dr. Mirza would have us believe. He has been misled by the [illegible] of the 4th and 5th *Risala* [illegible]. He notes [illegible] that the work had been completed in 710 A.H. [illegible] author was nearly 70 years [illegible] that there are some genuine [illegible] that bear date. Khusrau wrote at the end of the 5th [illegible] the period. The writer [illegible] Arabian [illegible] of 70 years; still there are two [illegible] as a later [illegible] of both. [illegible] later he gives the

RISAIL-UL-IJAZ OF AMIR KHUSRAU
AN APPRAISAL

S. H. ASKARI

Though the early period of Muslim rule in India is not destitute of historical books, these termed chronicles, are mostly records of political developments, dynastic changes, wars and conquests, and they contain but little about economic factors, civil government and administration, and especially concerning the life and conditions, progress and decadence in cultural patterns, of the people. Sometimes careful and painstaking gleanings from purely literary and non-historical works repay the labour and energy spent thereon and prove helpful in historical investigations. The information gathered therefrom, though scanty, incomplete, dis-connected, uneven and fragmentary, not unoften adds something to our existing knowledge and may provide corrective and corroborative evidence about men and matters of the past. A student interested in social history, a comprehensive and authentic work whereon is still a desideratum, cannot afford to ignore any source-material, and evidence, literary, religious, hagiological, numismatic, epigraphic or based on foreign accounts which throw side lights on social organisation and institutions, varied social elements ranging from the highest to the lowest, social usages and ways of living, manners, customs, beliefs, cultural patterns and cultural performances.

It may be argued that the need of historical accuracy cannot be fulfilled by works written in a rhetorical, exaggerated, over-dramatised and highly flown style, and one needs unimpeachable evidence to reconstruct life in early medieval times in India. There is no denying the need of very cautious and critical approach and carefully weighed conclusions from isolated incidents and allusions to contemporary men and events found in works full of colourful literary devices and written apparently to demonstrate the author's literary abilities and

hundred pieces of Russian linen (*katan*) were offered for his master, Prince Khizr Khan, the addressee. He and Bahram Eichi expected to be back in the imperial capital by the last of Shawwal. (IV-144-156)

As compared with the above, most of the miscellaneous pieces of the *Risal* have emanated from the ingenuity of the versatile tutor, matters and names of places and persons having had no real existence. A few examples will do. Harisa-i-Dihqan (peasant) 'Zamindavari' is said to have been granted by the king *inam* lands workable by ten *juftawanan* (ploughs) in the environs of village Dhulkot, since the beginning of Rabi crops. *23 Similar are the cases of the hereditary grant *Jaidar* to Imam Ja'far Radbari (p. 102, iv) and of the appointments of Sinanuddin Qiran to the post of *Ashbaz-i-Matbakh* (keeper of the kitchen) and of Amir Nasirmuddin Qabul as *Shanna-i-bad* or the officer to watch the effects of wind and climate. The *talazma* of the primary elements, earth, water, fire and air have been used here. But an important thing in the book is to see the context in which such words and expression as were in use in administrative sphere have been brought in. The following terms, offices and designations, are not devoid of interest. *Wajuh-i-Amil, Dagh-i-Aspan, Yak aspa, do aspa, Amir-i-Sadat, Zamindar, Nepal Khut, Dad Begi, Bahr Begi, Malik-ul-Bahr, Amir Hajib, Khasadar, Muhtasib, Mustaufi, Mushrif, Shikar Bax, Nazir-i-Mamalik, Nazir-i-Diwan, Nazir-i-Moamilat, Diwan-i-Arz, Arizul Mamalik, Sar Sahifar, Sipandar, Sipahsalar, Shanna-i-Pech, Shanna-i-jaharivan, Shannagi-i-Runghanfaran, Wali, Muqti, Mutasarrif, Muhassil, Kitabdar, Chashnagir, Shana-i-Nepala*

performed their obeisance by bending their knees frequently on the ground. As the purport of the exalted *farman* was that they should be awakened to the reality of the situation by the recital of the *khutba* in the laudable name of Muhammad,[51] it was done and it proved efficacious in bringing back into the fold of obedience those who had broken the bonds of submission and loyalty in that region. The Musalmans of Ghazni who on account of the blows of those base-born fellows had concealed themselves in the mountains made their appearance and the whole region of Ghazni became illumined by the light of the faith. It was on Saturday that the good news of the *khutba* was announced to the *khatib* (preacher) of Ghazni. He felt so exceedingly glad as to wish that the five intervening days should elapse very soon and was eagerly expectant for the Friday. On the Adina (Friday) day the saints and scholars of Ghazni who had been looking for a long time with the eyes of expectations towards Delhi and the elders and younger people who had vied with one another in expressing their joy at the expected opportunity of hearing the Alai *khutba* assembled. I invested the preacher with the royal *tilsan* (mantle) which had been sent by the Caliph by putting it on his shoulder. The congregational mosque of Ghazni which had decayed and whose walls and doors had fallen down was set right and became an abode of prayer and worship again. Those who had forgotten the fragrance of Islam assembled there and the mosque began to resound with the chanting of God's name in the *azan* and on the *tashbih* (rosary). The *khatib* ascended the pulpit and began to recite the *khutba*. When the name of His Majesty was pronounced I carried the jewels and the gold which I had brought to the pulpit and from that threw them down on the ground. The people fell on them to pick up the precious things. Both the *tilsan* of the *khatib* and the gold plate in my hands were very attractive. The Mongols saw all this from above the walls of the mosque and like dogs were licking or passing their tongues over. By the blessings of this auspicious *khutba*, the coinage of Islam became so current in that region that many infidels sincerely embraced the faith and recited the *kalima* (the Muslim formula).

At the end of the letter Badr Hajib refers to the schism and quarrels that had occurred among the Mongols of Transoxiana and Khorasan and those who were at first one and united were split up into two warring sections. Feuds, wars and anarchy prevailed in their lands. The people in the regions between Ghazni and Sindh river had again fallen in a state of trepidations and the Afghans had fled to Suliman mountain and concealed themselves therein. Badr Hajib also refers to the arrival of envoys from Qibchaq (Tartary) to the helish Ais Bugha and later says that on the eve of his departure he was accorded a special and respectable reception and one thousand Tartar horses, one thousand Turkish salve girls and five

51 Muhammad was the name of Sultan Alauddin Khalji.

[illegible] all on [illegible] the [illegible]tures of Manikpur re[illegible] were [illegible] drawn [illegible] the water from the Ganges. [illegible] from that [illegible] me to that Hindu, [illegible] [illegible] with [illegible] Hindu. [illegible] paper but they [illegible] complaint from [illegible] [illegible] letter [illegible] cared for letter [illegible] embezzlement. [illegible] Zamani must be brought to the [illegible] of the king and his [illegible] that they should be taken out from here with chains being put round their necks (II, 40–49).

We may conclude this paper with an undated letter of Badr Hajib to Prince Shamsuddin better known as Khizr Khan, the eldest son of Sultan Alauddin on the occasion of the news that the attempts to extend the sway of the Khilji to Gujarat. It [illegible] In accordance with the [illegible] orders I [illegible] through [illegible] villages [illegible] the [illegible] people [illegible] [illegible] this way I reached the [illegible] I [illegible] journey in about two months. I [illegible] with [illegible] It was winter when I arrived in the province of Ghujarat. The cold was exceedingly cold. I saw the [illegible] Ali Bahram [illegible] shield and the other Muslims, having heard the sound of the words of the great Khan [illegible] taken on the appearance of the [illegible] of Islam. When the [illegible] was read out to them they felt [illegible] fitted and placed the [illegible] on the ground and according to their custom

[illegible] آن مشتی بی حاصل خشکی محصول ولایت و شرکت آن [illegible]
[illegible] بدست [illegible] می رفت و می خوردند.

47 "آن مرد که پیراهن کاغذین کند"

48 [illegible] History is silent on the question of [illegible]

49 "دیدیم که همه آتش غضب و دوات در [illegible] راه سوی [illegible]
غضب روی بزمین می نهاد و می رفت".

40 It has not been possible to identify this Turk from any other source

the talk continued in this strain the master servant asked me as to how much silver-coloured things I demanded. When I mentioned thirty lakhs of *jital* he grinned and showed me his 32 teeth I warmed up and said that if he suffered from constipation or loosness of bowels, I would draw out all the maladies from his stomach which he had stocked with things exacted from people by employing obnoxious methods and obstructive practices, he said "Don't be non-sensical You have not been sent by Khwaja Jahan"

A handful of powerful penholders patronise the ryots with their right hand and misappropriate revenue (*mahsul*) with the left, and if one *dirham* is asked of them they show their empty[15] hands. Although they were told that a hundred or thousand which was due to them would be exacted, they talked of paper and pen so as to cover their stealth Unless the heads of the agents are thrown down, the revenue cannot be realised They are a group of a people who acquire wealth by corrupt means But this wealth is unlawful and has no durability If the *Farman* is referred to, they say that this was not the *Farman* of the Solomon with the royal seal and symbol (*toughra*), but of the Diwan If I say that they were opposing Khwaja Jahan who wielded supreme authority, they would bring in the name of the Sultan and make mention of his black canopy which was spread over all and was the symbol of the royal justice. But when the turn of action comes, they resort to lies. However much it was said to them that the letter of Khwaja Jahan should have weight with them, they poured ridicule over it and they gave nothing in accord with it I had considered these clerks to be men of independence but actually they are a sort of people who throw chains round the necks of independent people They did not take into the account my computations and point. hundreds of flaws in it. They wished to involve me in bribery and then call me into severe accounts I was between two fires and ran the risk of falling into their clutches here and was also, on the other hand, afraid of being put in chains by Khwaja Jahan.

At this time I laid my grievances before the Malik who listened to them but he referred my affairs to a Hindu named Deu Chand who had gathered his myrmidons around him and was sitting like a serpent on the sandal. He attached no importance to the *shahna* of the Diwani He was a man of low origin of Kara Low and behold this ingenious secretary (*dabir-i-Mudabbir*) who had thrown all the secretaries into the background led people into the dark well of his ink pot The Muqti who was the adorer of the Hindus gives preference to the inverted script (*Khatt-i-Bazguna*) over the Muslim alphabets and by putting the ink on the point of his pen set fire to the towns of the region, deceived all and imposed his

45. 'مشت را بمقدار دو و سه می بندند و می گویند که نقش درم اگرچه بسه می شود بر ما شکل صفر دارد'۔

We can have some idea of the prevalence of corruption in the sphere of public administration, the centres of the evil, the classes of persons involved and the hands of the subordinate Hindu officials in the idioms of big landlords of lands from an important despatch dated 11 Rabi', 709 by an unknown official deputed to realise the surplus revenue from the Muqti of Manikpur. The latter being in league with the officials of the Finance Department cheated the Government of their just due. The abstract of the document which forms an interesting reading is as follows:

On this side through the grace of the king and the wazir everything is being prepared, managed and in order. But owing to the bad transactions of the Muqti of Manikpur and his followers fairness and justice have disappeared. When I, at the instance of *Mushir-i-Mamalik*[41] (chief counsellor of the kingdom), went to his subordinates, met the Muqti of Manikpur, and stooped to kiss his hands within his jurisdiction, at village Tanhora[42] that unmanly person (may God keep him off from His blessing) though a spendthrift did not take me into account on the occasion. When the *Farman* was delivered to him and the surplus revenue was demanded of him, that assignee of these tracts showed me his sword and said: "What to speak of the ears of grain nothing can be had here even in the forms of loans without the sword. There is no army[43] left in this region to prevent havoc being done by the cattle. How can the men of the pen do this job? The produce (*hasil*) of these small towns is not so much as to suffice even for the lives of the bands of servants here". Then he folded and twisted the paper in his hands and handed it over to the Master servant (*katkhuda*)[44] of his house and hinted not to act according to the document in a business like manner. The Master servant took me to his house, treated me with due courtesy and asked me to stay there for the day. I said that this would not do; we had to talk of the business and think of the balance (*jama'*). The words of literateurs which are pregnant with meanings are better than those of clerks which bring out nothing but cypers. When

41. It was he [illegible] of the Wazir who had been described as *Buzurgi-Mihr* of the age [illegible] Hajj Wali [illegible] Khwaja Khan [illegible] who had served [illegible] Babur [illegible] Wazir [illegible] Khan. The [illegible] also [illegible] as [illegible] *Mir* [illegible] *Mir* [illegible] *Mir* [illegible] *Mir* [illegible] *Mir* [illegible] *Darbar-i-Darbar-i-Akbari*.

42. It is difficult to locate this village.

43. [illegible] *Rai Lachhmi Ratan* [illegible] *Dara-i-Darbar-i-Akbari* [illegible] *Nawand* or *Mawand* [illegible] *Mamalik-i-Mahrusah*.

44. See *Supra*. The word also means Master of a family. As regards the Muqtis of Manikpur were there [illegible] Muqti has referred to [illegible] Kara and Manikpur [illegible] Manikpur was placed under a Muqti who as the document suggests was expected to be responsible to the *Diwan-i-Wizarat*.

A document of different content is a *nishan* (Royal command) dated 700 A.H. which says that a village, named Nasur[39] in the [illegible] (Dehli-e-Purbi) which had fallen in ruins and had become depopulated was assigned as *inam*[40] to Shaikh Shamsuddin who was directed to repopulate it and make it as shining as the light of the sun and the moon. The thatched houses of the inhabitants should no longer have fissures and holes. He was to extend his cherishing hands over the heads of the ryots so as to give them ease and comfort from the heat of distress under the shade of his protection and enable them to pass their lives in happiness. He should strive his utmost to [illegible] the population of the area and [illegible] its prosperity. The inhabitants of the villages (*Qaryas*) were [illegible] to pay the said Shaikh Shamsuddin as the *inatasarrif* and pay to him their revenue (*mahsul*) of the 12 months of the year and obey him implicitly (II, 17-18).

A *farman*, addressed to officials of *Ishwara mahal kirana*, issued on the 30th Rabi I, 709, says that *Zia-ud-daula*[41] Sirajuddin who was responsible for the right to the court was also appointed Shahna (superintendent) incharge of the oil merchants and manufacturers of Delhi, the Imperial metropolis and the other regions who were countless in number, each one being more ingenious and evasive in payment of Khiraj than the others. They had repeatedly duped the tax-gatherers (*Mutasarrifs*). There should be no connivance at their activities, however much they might try their crafty methods to make him soft and conciliatory so that their trade should continue to flourish. On the other hand, he was to punish them with severity. He was to be specially on his guard against Nasir, the oil manufacturer, who was the lamp of the whole community and he should pay no heed to him when he adopted his usual methods. He was so skilful in his manipulation that if the oil distilled by him weighed six Jang (six rattis) he so managed as to make it equal to one *tanka*. Sirajuddawlah was to find out the evil ways and the nefarious methods of the fat manufacturers or oil-men (*charb karan*) and if they deviated from his orders even to the extent of one grain sesame (*[illegible]*) he should throw them into the oil-mill (Jawaz Kolhu) and let them be squeezed therein and confiscate everything they possessed so that others might take a warning therefrom (II, 19-20).

39. It may be also read as 'دیہ ارب نسور' or Sur which is rather [illegible]. Hindi words are not wanting in the *Risal*. These and [illegible] have been noticed in another paper.

40. Assignment of rent free land as a reward. *Ilzar* means recei[illegible] to the learned and pious persons.

41. The royal [illegible] had an officer who was incharge of [illegible] but there are [illegible] and anecdotes drawn from [illegible] that one cannot but suspect the piece to be a mere figment of the author's mind.

he was the *Wali*[illegible] and the Qazi had no authority over him. When that man visited the town, the Prophet's [illegible] and the dignity of the *Sharia* be preserved!' It was heard that the tyranny and oppression of that ruler were beyond [illegible] of Sultan. The grandees [illegible] be dismissed [illegible] from that place [illegible] as shoulders like the cattle by the [illegible]. He should be made to disgorge all that he had taken from [illegible] and was [illegible] by the Muslims and the *Zimmis* and then he should be [illegible] up before the house of chastisement (*Dar-ul-Siyasat*) and put to death so that others might take warning and nobody in future should venture to oppress [illegible] others (II, 21-25).

[illegible] named [illegible] Mas'ud [illegible] and had qazis, [illegible] by one named [illegible] Mas'ud [illegible] as qazi [illegible] of the Quran by Shaikh-ul-Islam, Rukn-ud-din, [illegible] he poured forth his eulogium. In this list which was prepared in 691 A.H. we get the names of Qazi 'Ain-ul-Quzzat Zia-ud-din, the pupil of the eye of *shari'at*; Qazi Zahir-ud-din, who was very strict in the administration of justice; Qazi Sadr-ud-din, the greatest of the Sadrs and the second Qazi Muhammad Yusuf, Jalal-ud-din, the great Qazi 'Ain-ul-[illegible] who always followed the path of *shari'at*, Qazi Burhan-ud-din who always adduced proof for whatever he observed; and Qazi Ahmad, the most truthful [illegible] of the Qazis. There were also Qazis[illegible] such as Qazi Ja'far Kirmani, who had [illegible] and dignity; Qazi Imam-ud-din Razi who was expert in [illegible] the foundation of tyranny, Qazi Kamal-ud-din who had become [illegible] for misappropriating the goods of others, Qazi Yusuf [illegible] (May his head be cut off and may his wealth [illegible]), Qazi Wajih-ud-din who was a dotard; Qazi Rukn-ud-din who [illegible] the heads of people; Qazi Mas'ud who had already gone [illegible], Qazi Bu'al Siraj who had the disposition of the market people (*Qutar*), Qazi Khalid [illegible] and a corrupt man who had perished (II, 25-28).

[illegible] of Wajiyat and [illegible] which the kingdom was [illegible] Ahmad Khilji was [illegible] The Malik was [illegible] he had [illegible] He had [illegible] expenses. He was [illegible] the *Diwan-ul-Wizarat*. He had a [illegible] Dabir. He had also a [illegible] adviser called Khwaja [illegible] Malik [illegible] the house. [illegible]

[illegible] Malik [illegible] person [illegible] Malik [illegible] Qazi [illegible] Qazi Malik [illegible] the [illegible] Qazi [illegible] the [illegible] he [illegible] checking and [illegible] he [illegible] on account of the [illegible] [illegible]

which came within the purview of the Qazi of Delhi who has been described here as Sadr-i-Sadur-i Jahan Zia-ul Haq[31] waddin Abdur Rahman. The officials were enjoined upon to obey his orders in all such matters as fell within his jurisdiction. Utmost of reverence was to be shown to him.

An important document, described as a paper-case or robe whereby the oppressed ones (*jama-i-kaghzi-i mazlumani*)[32] laid their complaints against privileged people contains the despatch of the chief slave of Baha-i-Suqi, the 'Hakim'[33] of Khitta-i-Nagore, which was addressed on 30th Rabi' I, 709, at the instance of the Qazi of the place, to the Sadr-i-Jahan, Zia-ul-Haq waddin. It relates to the complaint brought in '*Diwan ul-Mazalim*',[34] against the 'wali' who despite his Muslim name of Malik Islam, indulged in un-Islamic activities and had extended his hand wide for the ruination of a populous region of the realm of Islam. He had misappropriated a hundred thousand and had become proverbially parsimonious. Like many other agents of government ('*ummal*), he always had his eyes on the wealth of others and his stony heart served as the load-stone, drawing to itself the money of the people. Even the shirt (*pairahan*) on his body belonged to others. He had so many claimants at his door but he knew how to deny justice to all. He was not afraid of death. Although the Hanafi Law, which was administered, supported the case of the oppressed ones, he refused to consider the judgement of the Qazis as valid. By dishonest means he had made himself so rich as to leave even Jafar Dwaniqi[35] behind as a poor man. Opening his tongue of criticisms and derision, he contemptuously referred to the Qazi and said that the latter called himself a *faqih* (jurist) but was ignorant of literature and had to be taught manners. Every day a number of seekers of truth put forward before him the plea of *Shuria* but he ignored it and being puffed up and becoming violent, he uttered that

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31. Perhaps he was Maulana Ziyauddin of Bayana who rose from the office of Qazi-i-lashkar to the highest judical offices of the realm and was called Sadr-i-Jahan. This piece ends significantly with 'کتب بامر امیرالمومنین'

32. This reminds us of the old Persian custom which has been referred to by Ghalib

نقش فریادی ہے کس کی شوخیٔ تحریر کا
کاغذی ہے پیراہن ہر پیکر تصویر کا

33. The celebrated 14th century sufi saint of Bihar, Sharafuddin Yaha Maneri has used the words Qazi and Hakim for one who administered justice. Ordinarily in Muslim countries judicial functions were exercised by Qazis and in small villages by Hakims.

34. In Muslim countries outside India (Baghdad, Cordova etc.) there was a special judge called *Sahib-ul Mazalim* who was appointed by the superior ruler to hear the complaints of breach of privileges or offences committed by big public officials.

35. Abu Jafa'r Ali Mansur, the second Abbasid Caliph, and the creator of Baghdad who reigned for nearly 20 years was notorious for his stingency

Muhammad. He [illegible] on the evidence [illegible] of God, [illegible] fate, reserve and [illegible] he received [illegible] of God, [illegible] between the subjects [illegible] and by [illegible] the [illegible] and the [illegible] of the [illegible] it incumbe[illegible] [illegible] oppressed ones, especially those who suffered from the [illegible] and extortion of the [illegible], [illegible] fairness and equity between the contending claimants, especially a rich and a poor person, and should discriminate between false and corrupt and truthfully and truthful witnesses.

He had also to appoint such agents (*[illegible]*) in the departments of government as might not have a feeling of fear or [illegible]. Such deputies (*nawwab*) should be appointed in the [illegible] in countrysides (*[illegible]*) towns (*[illegible]*) as might follow him in their occupation and in the discharge of their judicial duties. They should be furnished with instruction and enjoined upon not to interfere in the ways (affairs) of government and not to blacken the pages of their papers by their writing and false judicial decrees. Bribery and corruption had to be shunned and money accruing therefrom should be treated as insignificant and transient as the spider's web, rendering their existence useless. They should remain content with what they received from the State which was beyond to shine like the arms of the lilies, i.e. it would be useful. In the Department of religion and judiciary, what is stated in the Quran. They are the tyrants who do not order according to what has been revealed. Verily the tyrant would suffer from perpetual torment, is to be kept in view. A judge should be guided by the Quranic text (*[illegible]*), public opinion (*[illegible]*) discretion (*[illegible]*), honesty and integrity, (*[illegible]*).

The king wished that ocean of learning should become so boisterous that the waves of the straight path of Command and Prohibition should flow like that which was witnessed in the time of the Prophet and therefore he had established madrasas and embellished them with learning and [illegible] the stone walls and made them charitable institutions for students seeking knowledge. The Qazi should permit the preachers to deliver their sermons. He should appoint *[illegible]* (readers) of the Quran who preserve the eternal tablets (*[illegible]*) in the breasts. One of his duties was to appoint [illegible] of the endowed properties as might fulfil the conditions of [illegible] and honesty. They should not be such as to transgress the laws of Waqf. He should make enquiries and investigations into the [illegible] of the mosques and the [illegible] mosques. All the matters pertaining to judiciary should be regulated in such a manner that might not be the least deviation from the shariat. The king had made some grants of the assignments (*[illegible]*) and *[illegible]*, rewards or gifts, mostly from Northern India to some people corresponding to their position and status and the regulation of these was taken to be a religious duty.

'The traders of the port of Kambhayet, who are so opulent and active on the sea, have brought some precious things (*mafais*) by sea for the imperial treasury and they should give their delivery to the *Mutasarrifs* (revenue officers) of Nahrwala. They constantly ply their vessels on the waters of those directions and the rarities of Magorib and Sham (Syria) reach continuously and in succession to this side. They should take their vessels to Jerusalem (*Bait-al-Maqadis*) and bring them back. The other merchandise, carried in their vessels from Ethopia and Barbari, include the black slaves of Abyssinia whose services are utilised in guarding the harem and as soldiers. Their sort black colour is attractive in its own way. The negro slaves of Zinjbar (*Zanzibar*) and Darya (?) are of gigantic size and very swift-footed. They were all recipients of royal favours.

Some idea of the working of the judicial department and the attributes, duties and functions of a *qazi* can be had from a *farman*, dated 716 A.H., conferring the office of the Chief Qazi of Delhi, the imperial metropolis, on Shamsul-'ulama-ul-Mujtahidin (the sun of the scholars and of theological doctors) Ziya-al-Haq waddin Abdur Rahman Usman Ashraf (II, 4-17). The introductory portion deals with the might and majesty of the king; the suppression of the turbulent and refractory people of Hind, Khata, and Tatar; reduction and submission of the great 'Rais' of the Hindus; protection of the weak against the strong; establishment of peace and tranquility throughout the realm; adoption of the motto "Reverence to God and compassion on His creatures"; consciousness of the need of carrying out the Quranic behests, "Verily God enjoins upon you to be just and benevolent"; and of administering fair and impartial justice to all, especially to the *zimmis*, (protected non-Muslim subjects) and of *dihqans* (village peasants). He was determined to carry out the *fatwas* (command) of *shari'at* (canon law) that when a king should take up the work of regulating the affairs of the kingdom, he should appoint *qazis* who are possessed of the virtues of justice, purity, piety and sound knowledge of theology so that the weak and the helpless ones and the indigent people who have no support, should remain immune from injury and the learned divines should not suffer from the darkness of oppression and the insignificant should not be trampled under the feet of the elephant.

'The king says that being on the look out for a man, possessed of the requisite attributes, he cast his eyes far and wide, from the extremity of Transoxiana to the shores of the Black Sea and a man of deep scholarship, thoroughly honest and strict follower of the *shari'at* law was not easily available. At last such a person was found in Maulana Abdur Rahman Usman Ashraf who had the truth of (Abu Bakr) Siddiq, justice of 'Umar, modesty of Usman and scholarship of 'Ali. In knowledge of tradition and in the use of discretion he was the second Sharih (the qazi who was appointed by and represented 'Ali, the 4th Caliph) and the third Sahibain (Imam-i-Azam Abu Hanifa had two special pupils, qazi Abu Yusuf and Imam

dervesheses, [illegible] whom [illegible] the [illegible] of the truth and the Saints, [illegible] Alawis[28] and [illegible] [illegible] and [illegible] They are the [illegible] and emperors. [illegible]

The [illegible] and favours. The [illegible] as to exist [illegible] and [illegible] for their [illegible]. When the [illegible] courage had been made [illegible] in that region, the [illegible] and silver in the shape of [illegible] (white silver) and [illegible] and the treasury [illegible] necessity of their [illegible] cavalry [illegible] should be [illegible] ted and kept ready to bring under control the distant remoteness of land and sea. The peasants and the cultivators who pin their hopes on water for irrigation and on their cattle and slaves, should receive help and encouragement so that they might bring out increased production. As regards the assessement of the cultivable lands, settlement should be made on a half and half basis. Religion should be the guide in every transaction. The inhabitants of the coastal regions, islands and harbours should be made to acknowledge the imperial suzerainty and if they hesitated to do so, force should be used against them. It was hoped that the Hindu Paiks (foot-soldiers) would give up their mischievous activities and when the demand was made for *[illegible]* and *[illegible]*, they should be humble and submissive. When they accepted such a position of obedience and submission, they should be assured of their safety and security. Strangely enough this document addressed to the King's son concludes with the mention of the names and the pompous[30] titles of Khwaja Jahan Dastur, Sadr Nashin, Naib Mubarak Barbak Kafur as Sultan.

The next piece is a *Farman Tughra* (with royal titles prefixed), dated 13th Safar, 709 A.H., which was addressed to the merchants of the sea and the ports, regarding the transportation of the gifts and goods of Arabia, Habsha (Ethiopia), Bahrain, Barbar, Maghrib and Syria. It is of some significance, showing as it does, the interest taken by Alauddin Khalji in foreign trade and shipping. Unfortunately, it does not specify the articles of import and export and is much too short to provide us with some much needed information. Its substance is as follows :-

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28. The true descendents of Hazrat Ali by wives other than by Fatima, the daughter of the Prophet, are called Alawis.

29. This reference to the monetary system obtaining in the south is interesting but the coins mentioned require detailed study and elucidation in respect of their nature, weights and measures.

30. The concluding portion begins with an Arabic text "*Katab-al amir al ghalib ala ghalib Rajabu Sanatin*

ined to ply on the ocean upto Kish and Harmaz islands on the mouth of the Persian Gulf, and the whole of the coastal region was to be brought under control and possession. The neighbouring islands in the ocean which had been a source of trouble and the coastal regions should be brought under control by means of sword and the idolatrous practices of those areas should be substituted by the laudable customs and obligatory duties of Islam. Whosoever agreed to accept the position of a *Zimmi*, had to be condoned and pardoned.

Although the princely recipient of the *Farman* had enough good sense and to require detailed instructions, the affection of the father dictated the need of showing him light so that he should pursue the straight path and regulate the affairs in such a way as to make all his subjects and the common people enjoy peace and comfort. He should mete out justice to all like Nushirvan. Everyone was to be provided with some work and occupation. Cruelty and oppression on common creatures had to be sternly suppressed. The prince should not allow himself to be defrauded by writers and accountants and collectors of *Zakat*, "whose entry of hundred maunds of gold yielded no cash but only a paper". He had to guard himself against the counterfeiting of coins and discriminate between those who were false and faultless. The Hindu scribes who with their inverted[27] script (*Khatt-i-Bazguma*) sent the affairs of Mussalmans up and down (disturbed and confused) should not be allowed such latitude as to continue plying their pen more swiftly and prove prejudicial to the interests of those who were firm in faith and were virtuous. He had to remain awake about the affairs of his territory and the *Iqta's* so as to avert mischiefs and calamities. He should depute spies and informants to the east and the west so that they might move about constantly from dawn till darkness in the midst of the poor and the destitute, the rich and the wealthy, so that into no retreat and corner oppression and tyranny might find their way. He should regard the lamentations of the oppressed ones to be the clarion call of the Judgement Day and not the musical note, emanating from the Turkish guitar (*Tambur*). If a loaf of bread would serve as a shield for the life of an indigent person, that should not be withheld from him. The religious mendicants in the dark narrow retreats and streets, who passed their days in hunger and lived only on restricted diet, should also not be ignored. Punishment should be tempered with mercy and when an oppressive enemy sought mercy and refuge, one should go to the utmost limit to accommodate him and spare the sword. But as regards the offences of the country in whose case the pen of *Shari'a* writes the "Final Judgement) with blood", they should not be spared. The scholars whose occupations dispelled darkness, who lit thousands of lamps of learning for the followers of (Imam) Abu Hanifa and the saintly Sufi

27 This is written from left to right.

end, the hot blooded inhabitants of the tract of Multan[21] were specially assured of fairness and justice and generous treatment. They were asked to give up their designs of war, their fear and fright, their hatred and antagonism and also their impossible demands, and to pray for the success of the newly established regime.

This is followed (vol. IV pp. 119-141) by a *Tauqi* mandate conferring on the brave prince Farid Khan,[22] the government of the *ghat* of Ma'abar[23] and Sawahil (coastal regions). After offering his thanksgivings to God for having blessed him with many capable sons and hoping that they would prove to be the aid and support of the government of the country, the Emperor [illegible] to serve the Turks and the world; to see where there was witness of perverseness and rebellion; to appoint one of his sons to that part of the country which was devoid of worthy people and he should be capable enough to chastise those who evaded payment of the fixed money. The coastal regions of Ma'abar and the whole tract upto the shores of Malabar, which were equal to Ma'abar in area were conferred on Farid Khan, "the dearest and the happiest son and the pearl of the crown of the kingdom" so that he might take possession of and establish his control over both land and sea on that side. His deputies and *diwans* were ordered to prepare and put down on paper detailed inventories, covering both sea and land, since Rabi 712 A.H.[24] to demolish the foundations of disorders, to take proper measures against the erring and the rebellious and crush the refractory and the seditious people of the frontier regions. Deserving men of sword and the pen and workers, learned and of practical experience, were to be appointed to the post suited to them. They should see that the boats and the ships[26] conti-

22. [illegible] Jalali princes and nobles headed by Arkali [illegible] Rukn [illegible] Qutlugh Khan and Zafar Khan [illegible]

23. Of the [illegible] Khan, Shah Farid, Shah Sultan and Malik [illegible] Bakar Ali, Bilal [illegible] Malik Kafur [illegible] Malabar [illegible] Farid [illegible] there [illegible] area [illegible] Malik Kafur.

24. [illegible] Malabar extended in length from [illegible] to [illegible] nearly three hundred farsangs (each about [illegible]) the sea coast.

25. [illegible] The act to towards [illegible] the chief [illegible] year 712 [illegible] *Khazain-ul-Futuh* which is more [illegible] says that Malik Kafur set [illegible] on [illegible]

26. This [illegible] the [illegible] taken in sea-borne trade and forced commerce by the Khaljis [illegible] importance.

have devoured others". It behoves one who sits on the cushion of the state to water the garden of sovereignty from the spring of *Sharī'at*; to prevent calamities and dangers from mankind and genii throughout his dominion; to extend his justice and equity far and wide; to root out all mischiefs and tumult; and to so crush the refractory and the blood-thirsty ones as to ensure complete peace and comfort for all.

This is followed by what gives us a clue to the ambitious designs of 'Alauddin to attain the throne by any means, fair or foul, which had been harboured since long. 'Alauddin appears to have been in league with the discontented Jalālī nobles who were anxious and ready to welcome him as king. "As the kingdom best suited and fitted Lord had given the joyful tidings of the dawn of good fortune to the eternal Cradle of the Child of my destiny and had prepared the robe of the attributes, referred to above, so as to fit my sky-like size and stature, the eyes of the stars were on the look-out for the dawn of that day and for that time when the orbit of my black canopy would be witnessed. And the fixed stars by making friends with the angels (*aql-i-kul*) had arranged the affairs and had done what was expedient so that the throne of the empyrean should cast the shadow of my sovereignty and the jealous and the malicious ones should be prevented from creating mischiefs. They were restless to witness the manifestation of my war-like activities and were ready with their gifts to welcome my victory and success. Praise be to God that their expectations did not remain unfulfilled".

The document next refers to the issuance of the new coinage and the reading of the new *Khutba*, to appointments made, to measures adopted for ensuring justice and protection of the loyal[20] zimmis; to the intended policy of making wars of conquest and expansion, of establishing peace and security, doing justice to all, promoting the welfare of the subjects, rooting out marauders on the roads and highways so that "people with gold and silver[21] in their palm could enjoy a sound sleep in the world"; devising a sound system of intelligence and espionage; befriending peasants, tradesmen and workers, "the sweat of whose eyebrows falling on the ground become pearls"; cheapening things, especially grain; mitigating the severity of the *Kharaj*, helping the indigent and the wayfarers out of the royal exchequer; patronising the saintly mystics and the pious ascetics and the great scholars, teachers and earnest students. The motto adopted and stressed upon was 'To honour the command of God and to be clement and compassionate towards the creatures of God'. In the

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20. که سیم و زر چو بکف کرده در جهان حسبند

21. سبک کنند و بیرک گلیش بار آرند

became ' ightened In mtaters of justice and welfare of his subjects his enlightened nature had devised such laws as could not have been reflected on the mirror of Alexander or in the cup of Jamshed For cheapness of the grains which is the leasen of life's existence his sound and balanced judgement had made such regulations that even when the clouds do not send the rains and the wind and the sun do not help the sown seed green crops he can keep the common multitude supplied with Food from the royal store.[18] As regards the other requirements of the people, whether rich or poor things have been made cheaper and more easily accessible Meat, which is the elixir of desires and the most wanted and cherished object has been made so cheap on account of the considerable grants and unlimited charities of the king that no one feels the lesser and dearness of prices and consequently ease and prosperity prevails all over the kingdom As the people are leading happy and contented lives like the sparrows in the gardens full of ears of corns There is peace and security every where in the world on account of the efficient management of affairs by the great Sultan Roads and highways have been made bright, plain and safe for all, including veiled women and babes in mother's laps Robbers have fled away from the shadow of the wealth and household goods and furniture, as shadows flee from the sun, and justice is busy in uprooting tyranny as the lamp dispels darkness The gigantic elephants cannot trample under their feet the insignificant ants and the hungry lions have not the courage to laugh at the unsteady movement of a lame deer (vol. I pp. 15-22).

Now let us consider the first *Farman*, proclaiming Alauddin's accession to the throne (vol. I pp. 104-119). The initial passage is not devoid of significance "Praise be to God who had elevated the position of the king for the exaltation of the faith of Muhammad; made him the lord of a lasting world; chosen him to sit on the throne to enforce the common law which is valid for ever; distinguished him with special eminence and excellence, given directly from Himself and not through fate (*Kaza*) and enabled him to attain a kingdom for which others after him might not be so worthy and deserving God grants greatness only to those whom He favours He next gives an insight into his matchless about his black stone and his swift moving arrows his gifts and treasures and also about the duty and qualities of kings Had there been no kings some people [illegible]

[illegible] the other [illegible] what they are with A[illegible] fleeted [illegible] Muhammad [illegible] and as plenty of the [illegible] owners [illegible]

18 "[illegible]"

19 *Khairul Manazil* and *Malfuzat Munaffar Shams Balkhi* of Bihar [illegible] corroborative references [illegible] the early years of Firuz Tughlaq spoke about the comparatively greater peace and plenty that prevailed in Alauddin's time and they even paid reverence to his tomb

meant the subordination and subjection of all the crown-wearers of the [illegible], including all the refractory infidel chiefs. Many a time he deputed the R[illegible]tams of his victorious army to humiliate the Mir[illegible]yabs of Turkistan. Fr[illegible] the chains of affections which the headless Mongols used to bring each year from Timur Qiq[illegible] for the neck of the faithful as to carry them as prisoners, turned into swords which cut them down and sent them to hell. Some who were spared by the swords or who were put in chains or liberated but tried to raise mischiefs and tumult and break their fetters were ordered to be thrown down from the battlements of the fortress into the river, while the rain of blood was made to pour on the earth from the necks of others and their berry coloured bodies buried in the ground served as seeds from which sprouted shoots of red [illegible] coloured [illegible] bushes of Tartary. Thereafter towers[illegible] were built [illegible] the heads of these [illegible] precious as red Mars. The towers with many white girdles containing thousands of heads of those red-complexioned ones became lofty as the sky. Similar lofty towers were erected in other regions of the country. The towns and cities which on account of the frequent raids and assaults of the Mongols had become desolate and ruined like deserts became populous again at the expansive hands of the king. The blood-shedding Mongols on the other side of Ghazni were no longer able to cross the Sindh river and the ferocious Tartars from the side of the Jaxartes were not given any quarter or repose. The carpet of peace and tranquility was so admirably spread that from the fortification of Delhi to the territories of Khorasan all disorders and tumults subsided and the mischievous Mongols rolled down on the ground. On one side, the huge hordes of Chingiz Khan had been blown off beyond the oxus by the violent wind of the dread and awe inspired by the king and, on the other side, the powerful Rais of India who with thousand elephants used to trample the ranks of the Turks had no alternative but to offer elephants and treasures and those who dared to offer resistence were crushed. Some of them who placed their heads before the columns of the royal threshold became recipients of royal favours.

The gifts and gratuities of His Majesty were so common that even without written deeds and commands, the houses of the rich and the poor

15. Timur or Timur in Turki language means iron and Qiq implies a mountain surro-[illegible] Mangu Timur, [illegible] Khan, was one of the direct descendants of the [illegible] Chingiz Khan through his son Tolui, father of Batu the other more famous [illegible] of Chingiz being Chaghatai, Oktai and Tolui.

16. Hasan, Badauni and Ferishta have mentioned some of the prominent raids of the Mongols which occurred from the second year of the reign up to 700. They were defeated at each time. Barani says that once when they invaded Delhi many were slain and others who were captured were trampled to death by elephants and of their heads they formed huge platform (*chabutra*) or made towers of the Mongol skulls. Again, he says that in Badaun a tower of the their heads was raised before the city gate which the town people look at to this [illegible] day.

sed at this, sent 50 elephants with treasures, jewels and choicest goods as a [illegible] of his submission [illegible] very, and on the following day he came [illegible] to the presence and was assured of the safety of his life and property. A [illegible] was taken of his goods and chattels. What he offered was taken as a [illegible] and requests were acceded to. By agreement, he entered the [illegible] Zamania [illegible], protected by, and subject to, the Mughal government. When all the affairs of the region were satisfactorily settled the Emperor returned to the metropolis on the 5th of Shawwal, 980 A.H. (op. cit., V, pp. 5-13, Nawal Kishore Edition, Lucknow).

The next document that attracts our notice is the brief abstract of the meeting between Amir Khusrau, Bughra Khan and Kaiqubad, on the bank of the Sarju river at Ayodhya, as mentioned with at length in *Qiran-us-Sa'dain*. In a letter, [illegible] Rajab 1315 A.H., where all the figures of speech have been derived from the planetary system and which was addressed to Nizam [illegible] Shams (Najmuddin Hasan)[14] Sijzi, Amir Khusrau refers to his reunion with his old friends, Shamsuddin Dabir (Bughra's Secretary who drafted the Emperor's memorandum for his son Bughra Khan) and Qazi [illegible] Muhammad, and he also makes mention of his patron, Makhdum, Malik-ush-Sharq Ikhtiyaruddin Ali Beg Sultani, Khan Jahan Hasan Khan, who was appointed governor of Awadh. The Sultan (the East), Nasiruddin Mahmud (Bughra), arrived on the bank of the Sarju [illegible] on the other side came Muizzuddunya wa'ddin Kaiqubad. On the first day, they remained encamped on either side of the river and on the next day the meeting took place. Amir Khusrau bewails his lot that he could not return with the royal army to his home and was obliged to stay in Awadh. The royal cavalcade was marching on but his patron, the [illegible] Malik, turned him back and he had to leave the company of his friends [illegible] the royal army and travel back to the [illegible] province, the realm of Saturn. It was the [illegible] to the month of which he had to wend his way back. This event [illegible] on the parting of his friends.

The [illegible] and [illegible] belonging to the early years of Alauddin Khilji [illegible] on many of spheres have been [illegible] in a long introduction to his [illegible]. The [illegible] of the Sultan has been eulogized in [illegible] and [illegible] come out the Mongols [illegible] generously, promising [illegible] and [illegible] and establishing peace and [illegible]. His early accession to the throne

13. The celebrated poet, a friend of Amir Khusrau, and the author of *Fawaid-ul-Fuad*.
14. The [illegible] the names and profuse eulogium on Mubarak Shah, the [illegible] of Alauddin Khilji. Could he be described as *Nasir-u-Wali* [illegible] (op. cit., 21 [illegible])

Barbek Beglar[7] Bek one of the most trusted officers of the court and deservedly famed for his martial virtues to reduce the realm of Jajnagar and Awadh[8] These regions, bordering on the deep ocean, on account of the distance and abundance of elephants, cavalry and infantry had remained immune from the harms of these fighting the holy wars' That valiant officer who had been authorised to do all that it was necessary, marched quickly to that side, traversing high and low lands, and when he arrived in the vicinity of that realm, the people became nervous and panicky But Naldeo[9], the chief 'Rai' of Jajnagar and a big 'zamindar' of that frontier advanced with 50 elephants, 5,000 cavalry and 10,000 *pik* swordsmen to oppose the imperialists The lion-like soldiers, hungry for the blood of the despised wretched fellows, raised an upper hand over them and in the very first attack killed many of them As they had been instructed to capture as many of the Deccani elephants as they could, they at first desisted from shooting their hill-penetrating arrows but had at last to use them, making four of the elephants look like porcupine A number of the 'infidels' were put to the sword and as many as 60 elephants were captured.

After this, the victorious army proceeded towards Jahanbar[10] which was the headquarters of the 'Rai' A blockade was laid around the strong fort of Hargaon,[11] the top of which had been provided with ballistas (*manjaniq*) and many small magazines for throwing heavy stones (*Arrada*), arrows and lances With a view to capturing the fort, orders were issued to the soldiers to ascend the summit of the fort with the help of [illegible] and strong ropes They rushed up and got on the top and took possession of one side of the fort They were about to raise the whole of it to the dust when Rai Birajit Man,[12] who was distinguished among the Hindus for his foresight and wisdom, realising the impending loss of all the resources of his zamindari to be followed by his overthrow and chastisement sent some eloquent men to sue for peace When the imperialists saw that the leader of the enemies, despite his immense resources and previous refractoriness and refusal to pay the *Khara*, (tribute), had become humble and submissive they accepted his gifts and presents and sent back his men with assurances about his "residence and integrity". The Rai' being plea-

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7 He is Malik Ikhtiyar Uddin Barbak Bikrus Sultani' of Barani (pp. 24-885) who was sent by Balban ahead of him in the direction of Jajnagar in pursuit of Tughrul.

8 The manuscript copy of O P L, Patna, has given the correct word "Jajnagar Odisa".

9 Can this 'Rana Sangram' [illegible] be identified with Rana Ha[illegible] entitled Maniek of Tipperah who was a great friend and supporter of Tughrul? Some scholars are inclined to identify Jajnagar with Tipperah

10. The Patna Ms. has 'Sawad-i Mahn Banares"

11 We get "Hisar-i Sargaon" or Sarkaon in Patna Ms.

12. The Patna Ms. corrects it as Malti. Barani has mentioned one, Danuj Rai of Sonargaon, who had entered into an agreement with Balban. But Birajit could not be Danuj.

and difficult work but it is worth while to extract from it some matter of political and [illegible] interest. The [illegible] of the *farmans* [illegible] *Khusrau nama* etc. [illegible] its ornate and verbose style would [illegible] raise doubts in [illegible] minds. But the substance of their contents, the dates and names of persons and places which are not affected by [illegible] and the sequence of events as [illegible] the fact that Amir Khusrau was a witness of, and a participator in, the affairs and occurrences mentioned, [illegible] suggest the importance of their main themes. Perhaps none could give a better idea of the political atmosphere of the age in which he lived than Amir Khusrau. More important is the purpose we get out of the [illegible] the end of the 13th [illegible] the first quarter of the 14th century. This aspect will form the subject of a separate paper.

The first thing in chronological order is the *Fathnama*[6] or the letter of victory, sent to Delhi by Ghiyasuddin Balban after the conquest of Lakhnauti. Amir Khusrau had accompanied Bughra Khan in his expedition against the rebel, Tughril, who being puffed up with the successful onslaughts on Jajnagar, had assumed the title of Mughisuddin and had caused the *Khutba* to be read and coins to be issued in his name. He had repelled the attacks of the imperialists led by the ill-fated Amir Khan and Shihabuddin or Bahadur, Governor of Awadh, and invited the wrath and invasion of Bengal by the emperor himself. On the approach of the imperial arms, he fled to Jajnagar and for a time eluded the grasp but was eventually overtaken and killed there.

Strangely enough, the *Fathnama* makes no mention of Tughril and is mainly concerned with the activities of the imperialists against the Hindus of Jajnagar and the neighbouring region bordering on the ocean, which seldom has to be established. The *Fathnama*, composed in 681 A.H., when Amir Khusrau was 31 years of age, opens with the praise of God who had placed the reigns long in a position to exercise power and authority, regulate the affairs of the kingdom, promote the interests of the faith, punish [illegible] and the rebellious, and effect the conquests of [illegible] and realms. Then it says that the king-regent Malik-ush Sharq Ikhtiyar [illegible]

[illegible] *India* has [illegible] in an appendix of his work, "[illegible] Dawat Qamar [illegible] Amir Khusrau [illegible] a response [illegible] The [illegible] judge he has [illegible] and "victory" [illegible] and any thing which is contrary to, or contradictory of, the established facts of history.

MATERIAL OF HISTORICAL INTEREST IN I'JAZ-I-KHUSRAVI

In a paper[1] published a few years back, the present writer had tried to draw the attention of scholars to the need of gleaning material of historical interest from contemporary literature of professedly non-political character. *Belles lettres*, epistolary compositions containing sometimes copies of official documents, poetic pieces[2], dealing sometimes with historical events, mystic literature and biographical works containing minute details of everyday life of Sufi saints and even books of romance, written in very ornate style, yield fruitful results to a painstaking student of history. That a book of tales and a collection of anecdotes can unexpectedly bring to light something which may serve as a source of political and social history was illustrated by a paper on *Basatin-ul-Uns* contributed to the Poona Session of the Indian History Congress, and may be further shown by a fairly big paper which is shortly to come out on *Jawami-ul-Hikayat wa Lawami-ul-Riwayat* of Muhammad al-Awfi, a contemporary of Qubacha and Iltutmish.

The historical works, including the *masnavis*, of Amir Khusrau, who witnessed the reigns of, and wrote about, several kings from Balban to Muhammad bin Tughluq, have been utilized by many scholars who have found some of his prose works also to be of great historical value for a student of early medieval history of India. But one of his voluminous works on epistography, named *I'jaz-i-Khusravi*,[4] completed in 719 A.H. four of the five parts whereof had been completed in 682 A.H., have scared all except those who are interested in highly ornate style, literary skill and artifices, verbal jugglery and intellectual gymnastics. The style is so stiff, involved and complicated and the few matters of undoubted value for social and political history that are found in it are so wrapped up in puzzles and puns that nobody except the learned author of "The Life and Works of Amir Khusrau",[5] has cared to notice its contents. This is a voluminous

1. *Insights on Firuz Shah Tughlak and his times* (mainly from literary and religious sources), *P.U. Journal*, XIII-1959.

2. Many such collections like *Dastur-ul-Insha* (letters of Raja Ram Narain), *Dastur-ul-Inshā*, *Risala-i-Insha*, *Mawaid-ul-Insha* etc. have already formed the subject of separate papers by the present writer.

3. Verified accounts in Persian of Iltutmish's campaigns in Assam. (*Current Studies*, Patna College)

4. The chronogram "زیبی در ترسیل" yields 719 (V.p. 167). The author was at this time about 70 years old "هفتاد ساله شد" (V-157).

5. Dr. Wahid Mirza also edited and published the valuable *masnavi*, "*Nuh Sipihr*".

[illegible] as the [illegible] of [illegible] *Dang* Dang [illegible] *Tu* [illegible] The wasp [illegible] the greatest [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

host of people towards a dark well (pit) which is his inkpot. In the black and cold water of the ink-pot he dips his pen. The Hindu-patronising Governor Muqti-i-Hindu Parast proceeds his script, written in the reverse way (Khatta-i-Bazguna), over Arabic alphabet of the Muslimans, and this fellow is setting fire to all the towns of this region by bringing out smoke from the top of his reed-pipe taking ink on the top of the pen" (II-46-47).

There is an interesting passage relating to an important industrial class of men—who ran the time-honoured oil Press at Delhi and defrauded the Government and their customers. Ziaud Mulk Sarajud Daula, (supposed to be) the chief of the department [illegible] was also put incharge as *Shahna* Superintendent of oil presses (Raughanddrân i e. Telligar of Delhi and its environs so that he might bring about a change in the habits and nature of the band of those vicious only people who are more numerous than the particles of sands, and by penetrating like water into sands he was to bring out oil therefrom (do the impossible). As regards the leaders of those people, each one excels the other in flattering and practising deception upon the *Shahna*, and every one appears to be unique of his time in manupulating the affairs. Many a time they have imposed upon and deceived the collectors (*Muhassilân*) of oil tax with trifles like lees or dregs that remain after squeezing (i e Khalli or oil cakes), and they do not let them see to the game, just as they do with bullock by fastening and closing their eyes, and making them go round and round the oil mills. He should not allow them to persist (in their nefarious activities). Although they would try to make an offer of small quantity of oil for his lamp and wish to use him as a wick of cotton and burn him, bribe and exploit him to serve their selfish purposes, he should anticipate them and reduce their bones to cotton by striking them with his woollen stick just as the carder does in the case of the cotton with his comber. After giving them a thorough rubbing he should pour that very oil on their heads which must be placed against the lamp for being burnt so that to every one their real condition may be clearly exposed. This should especially be the case with Narain Raughanagar oil manufacturer who is the [illegible] of [illegible] Duda. If he brings in [illegible] like a rose it should not be [illegible] the fingers for that [illegible] be the cause of [illegible] flame. His way is such that to whomsoever he gives [illegible] (equal to 6 Rattis or fourth part of Drachm) he puts the impression of a

propriated might be recovered. The Hindu scribes who played havoc upon the Muslims with their inverted script (khatt-i-Bāzguna) should not be given so much as a kick, so as to make them wear good shoes. For if the blistered skin of their feet is [illegible] they would use their legs in kicking all the respectable men of faith. They would take out their shoes to strike them, and their sharp-pointed pen which resembles the cobbler's awl would be made [illegible] the skin of the faithful one's. (IV-131)

There is a [illegible] passage (IV-[illegible]) which shows that the accountants of the province were kept by the Hindus who were not very honest in making the entries of the produce of grains brought by the peasants. They used to keep a good portion to themselves by manipulating the entries in the register. Their sharp tongues were like scissors in easily [illegible] of the complaints. The relevant extract is as follows:—"A particular Hindu scribe. Now-a-days, who supervises and keeps an account of the produce of the green pastures by a pen which is two-faced, and what it writes is as important as the corn itself, for it spoils asunder the disposition of the poor cultivators just as the plough tears the fields into pieces. His tongue is like the [illegible] which tears into pieces whatever bitters of things come in the way of man".

In a section containing letters relating to the officials of the revenue department there is an interesting report, dated 709 A. H. of an auditor, detailing his amazing experiences of the notorious writer class. An extract is worth consideration: "At this stage when my complaint reached the Malik Muqti' (Malikpur) he decided to redress my grievances. But the [illegible] in the hands of a Hindu named Deo-hari who [illegible] for a few days. Deo-hari whom he mandated and [illegible]. He had acquired a great hold on the Malik [illegible] Zeo [illegible] the Cobra and the serpent sits right in the [illegible] [illegible] and small, found themselves encircled by these [illegible]. He does not take into account or mind the action of the Shahna-i-Darani (superintendent of Revenue Department). The people who [illegible] the power to arrest these devils (*Deodas*) flee from their [illegible] to approach them. Really this fellow is a man of [illegible] Kara where he used to live in [illegible] adversity in his early life. On account of his proficiency as a writer he managed to acquire great [illegible] over the whole population of Kara. He is such a [illegible] and [illegible] strangler. Dastar-i-Mudabbir [illegible] as to overwhelm all [illegible] [illegible] is also a such [illegible] writer that he leads a [illegible]

own juice, and it is certain that he would try to take the plantation non-contract or lease from the accountant or writer *Girah Burân* That scribe or accountant should be thrown into his own sugar mills [ ] before he squeezes us. The police Superintendent Majlis-i Shema would earn our appreciative sweets if he firmly squeezes him and realises the tax on the sweet juice so as to make a stream of sugar juice flow in the village wherein that most ignoble sordid fellow should be drowned to serve as a warning for other parsimonious people If he happens to get an inkling of this affair he will give sweets [illegible], to every body [illegible] to keep their lips sealed Till the talk of the sweet [illegible] becomes bitter [illegible] to the ears of [illegible] and [illegible] tax-taker are [illegible] by the delivery of the sweet, this wine seller who lives on the wages of iniquity, should be compelled to taste the bitterness of punishment from the department of censor of Morals, and sweet juice of sugar has to be taken out of the root of his teeth before it goes down his throats" (II-247-49). [*Note* there is a hint here that sugar was used for manufacture of wine. A certain extract metaphorically written clearly shows that wine was made out of grapes and of sugar "The heart of Khusrau resembles grapes, and his pen is like a sugar cane from the juice whereof pure wine is manufactured] (IV-247-49,

Sultan Alauddin, a keen judge of men and matters, seems to have had a low opinion of certain classes of petty officials. He is supposed to have warned his son, Prince Farid, against "deceitful words and counterfeit activities of those sycophant records-keepers who knew how to polish their writings by using the silvery leaves. Their base silver was nothing but copper If they wrote about revenue of hundred mounds of gold that would mean a vanishing thing and nothing in the shape of cash could be had except on mere paper. Even if their allies and relations were as pure as gold they should not be let [illegible] and the coins of their deeds should be tested for 12 Months on the touch stone [illegible] they were suspected to be dishonest they should be [illegible] like gold, [illegible] gold that they had taken in their [illegible] they came out unscathed they should have [illegible] the use of silver is allowed in [illegible] and fraudulent agents they should be [illegible] that they might [illegible] embezzled [illegible] as a rule [illegible] of them are rice-eating Hindus they should be intimidated and made to tremble with fear so that the capital amount which they had misap-

of a month that the mouths of the horses of the writer are sealed in respect of barley corn [illegible] A handful of barley had come from village Barhana but it was soon eaten up and now barley is not available in the bazar and one has to suffer kicks for trying to get it [illegible] There is the pretence of keeping stocks of grains against scarcity (*ambardari*) but there exists everywhere plenty of cereals like *Mung* pulse black gram and *Mdash* vetch or kidney bean which are not drawn together do not get mixed up [illegible] They have imitated the wa[illegible] Is there nobody to throw them hoarders in the pit in pr[illegible] grain? [illegible]

The agents of big stockists interfere[illegible] and tend to expo[illegible] honest grain dealers to fulfil their own [illegible] "Mohan Gram Farosh" complained to his master, [illegible] agents had virtually lifted him up by the hair [illegible] handle of the scale and were compelling him 'to keep the wheat of the Government stock in his custody' He prayed that "before this dirty practice of higher prices) which was a reminder of the episode of Adam's fall filled up the measure of his age" ruined him the addressee should intervene (and get at the true facts and see that the wheat flour was transferred to the other carriers of burthen, leaving him behind scathless just as it happened in the episode of the thief of fine cloth and thus earn his share of rewards for the store house of Dooms day IV-334-35

One of the cash crops of the time was sugar cane The ripe sugar canes were pressed and crushed in sugar mills, called in the Kis[illegible] 'Gharkh' and 'Jowda', and revenue accrued to the Government from the tax on its juice *Wajh-asas* The village Hindu official or agent called "Khata", was expected to help the Government in assessment and realisation of revenue Maimun Sharabi the tax gatherer, Shahna of village Nepala wrote to Shihab Sumar [illegible] that a lady, Shakkar Khatun, had a very rich sugar plantation in village Nasara on the river side and Neipal Khara was [illegible] desirous of getting that sugar plantation for herself [illegible] sugar has not been available [illegible] way to his meanness he reports [illegible] sugar [illegible] plants are [illegible] There is no doubt, however, that [illegible] sugar plants [illegible] even in tracts wi[illegible] Mu[illegible] Hindu, who is more unauspicious than atum, goes up every day to bask under the sun shine of sugar crushing wheel and sits tight stewing in his

Alauddin to promote the well being of the state and the people, corruption was rife in all classes of society, particularly among the business people and the revenue officials, judges, scribes, tax-gatherers and accountants etc. There are interesting passages in the Risāl about their nefarious practices and the corrupt activities of such people.

A short extract with the heading "control of market chiefs" is of some significance even from historical point of view, for it gives us the author's view and reflections on the fraudulent ways and dishonest behaviour of the shop-keepers and other business men. Here is the relevant passage: "Whenever the market man comes across the chief or the supervisor he begins to whine and lament and when the question of rules and principles of honesty or integrity crops up, and he has to deal with the faithful believers, he shows his vexation, anger and annoyance. The wicked (corrupt) trader has no ultimate gain except his black face (disgrace). The cloth merchant should learn to be straight (honest) from his straight measuring rod, and the grocer (grain merchant) should learn to be upright from the horizontal beam of the balance which is never crooked does not lean on one side) as the pair of the scales. The money-changer who is always busy in improving or purifying impure coins is incapable of purifying his own heart (making it good and worthy). The dealers in the market or worldly traders make a profit of one out of ten (i.e. take ten percent annual interest) while the traders of the next world (Darweshes) make ten out of one will be rewarded 10 times for one good deed). Although a gold-smith weighs gold on his brass scale and the grain hoarder or profiteer (Muhtakir) weighs the rice (birinj) on his golden balance (makes its dear and high priced). If you closely examine the affairs of both you will find that there is no gain or prosperity in the weighing scale of either. A jeweller should not be equated with the grain merchant. Pure gold is not weighed on a balance made out of skin or leather. The weaver (Jolāha and the man at the shuttle (Tanda) do the same work, and yet one is different from the other, for while one does his work sitting all the while, the other is constantly moving to and from (I-174).

Amir Khusrau exposes contemporary practices of hoarders and profiteers and of corrupt petty local officials and agents such as tax-gatherers and scribes who were Hindus. At times certain essential cereals became scarce in the market but enough was kept up in pits or *Khattas* by usual methods with a view of enhancing the price. "Today it is about the end

thrown on the problem [illegible] of [illegible] and [illegible] types of coins [illegible] both [illegible] and [illegible] have been referred to [illegible] the [illegible] silver copper [illegible] *Dinar* [illegible] *Tankah* [illegible] *Zar* [illegible] is a reference [illegible] *Hadd* [illegible] *Kamal* [illegible] *Dirham* [illegible] *Shahdar* [illegible] *Prem* [illegible] leather, sugar, [illegible] and etc. [illegible] fine [illegible] silken and wool were produced [illegible] the north and south and some also came from outside such as Kattan-i Rusi, Russian linen, Jama, Darai-i-Walayati (long cloth imported from outside), Lebl-hai, Tabrizi (an apparel of fine cloth made in Tabriz), Yakta-i-Zabadi (a garment of flowered sheet without a mark, produced in the town of Zabad). We get references to fine painted Mosul cloth or embroidered Zarkar garments, Kirpas (a kind of cotton cloth), Khas (a kind of silk cloth), Debi (brocade), Adas (satin), Qalam (fine kind of cotton), Nas (garments of fine silken texture), Qumat-i-Hariri (very thin silken cloth). Among other cloths worth mentioning are Lata-i-Cham (Karatai) (a kind of very thin cloth), Yakta-i-Parnian (a kind of fine silken painted silk), Yakta-i-Awaiti, Jama-i-Deogiri, Yakta-i-Narma Latif (a kind of fine cloth of delicate texture), Jerma, Mauji (a fine piece of cloth), Yakta-i-Bahraman (red coloured silken cloth), *Behdri* or *Kazna-i-Bihar* (long cloth) and Rupa-i-Bizar (cloth of embroidered cloth with gold threads).

Amir Khusrau's observations in the book would have us believe that Alauddin's time was neither wasteful nor [illegible] but [illegible] moderate and [illegible] to the good [illegible] of the people. The royal charity [illegible] VI are [illegible] with the [illegible] of [illegible] which [illegible] crude [illegible] [illegible] or [illegible] [illegible] the water that [illegible] treasure [illegible] but does [illegible] the earth.

But despite [illegible] such a [illegible] stern measures and [illegible] desire [illegible]

sapphires and corals. Upon the whole, all the workers or the artisans had made the saying "contentment is sovereignty" as the Friday oration of their pleasure, and had stamped the inscription of the text "the wage earner is Friend of God." On the coins of their honour, their lives become pure by the labours they put in to earn their wages and just like the lives of the abstemious ones they find pleasure in their works (IV-172-174).

In the bazars there is so much over-crowding that people rub their chest against one another like their much-folded turbans. Some of them are so adept in the rules and principles of sales and purchases that they have everything on the tip of their tongues. They haggle and haggle like the disputant religious divines or scholars. Goods and chatteles and all kinds of household furnitures are so cheap that four sets of bridal gifts can be arranged for ten Dirhams. The surging river of the slave-market (*Nakhkhās*) abounds in slave-girls so much so that a well equipped moon-faced slave girl with attendant porter can be had for embracing for ten Tankas or double the amount for 12 months (i.e.10×2×12=240 Tankas). The wearing apparels are exceedingly cheap. Long cotton cloth (Kirpas) was so fine and delicate that if a turban wearer wrapped his head with the turban of 100 yards his hair from under its fold would be visible from the side like the writing of the letters of the alphabet which come out from inside of the silken paper, and the price of *Khaz* silk would wear the complainant's dress (*Jama-i-Kāghazin*) out of envy and spite against that *Kirpās*. A tray-full of such coarse (*Rikabi*) cloth could be purchased for two Dirhams. One can estimate the cost of other cloths on this line for a hundred types of turbans. The fruits which are eaten as food and those which are cooked and whatever is required for eating and cooking, and in fact, all other necessities of life such as the books for the students and the prayer carpets for the mystic saints, are well stocked in shops and in the market town and are cheaper and easily available (IV-173-74).

From the fragmentary information in the Risāl we learn that Ala-ud-din's empire was stable and well governed as a result of which the general economic condition of the country was one of peace, plenty and prosperity. Agriculture, trade and industry flourished. Agriculture was the main profession of the people, specially in the rural areas. There are references to both internal and external trade, coastal sea-borne commerce, and movements of Caravans of merchants with their goods. There is little about means of communication and transport but some light is

such an extent and in such a way that he might not have to approach any one else.

In this letter which he terms a long one he prays that what was to be granted should be given without delay so that he might not have to write about it [illegible] indirectly. Playing upon the words, sword and pen [illegible] he has pen quite judiciously so that nothing written by him may be questioned. He further says that the addressee having [illegible] the dictates of expediency should issue proper written [illegible] that the [illegible] of the recipients might be straightened [illegible] pen and he would go to the utmost extent in favouring them with oral instructions, and if need be, he might resort to the use of sword also so that with the strength of the chief of the sword and of the pen the revenue of the territory of his jurisdiction might be obtained regularly, from the hot headed Sahi subjects and the recipient might lead a secure and comfortable life like a sword resting in the scabbard. He should always utilise the gratitude of the low-placed people for the gifts granted to them and he might employ them against the mighty powerful ones. He concludes the letter by referring to the addressee as the planet Utarid (mercury) the light whereof emanated from the sun (the king). In the end the writer offers his grateful thanks to "the luminous personality who was near Bihar and was like the sun in the east." He wished for him in his morning prayer a position of glory and elevation higher than what he was already enjoying (338-382).

Turning from matters, political and administrative, to those of economic interests, we first come upon a short passage from which we may have some idea of Amir Khusrau's estimate of the earnest and honest wage earners and of his appreciation of the cheapness and abundance of goods of various kinds in the markets. Relating to lawful occupations (Mubarak-ul-Hilal Khusrau) he writes: "[illegible] make the golden flowers blossom through the thorns of [illegible] and [illegible] up the [illegible] and [illegible] for themselves their [illegible] morsel by [illegible] of [illegible] at bricks and stones [illegible] gems from the sweat of the [illegible] and accepting [illegible] as the wages thereof. Although those gems are [illegible] in the eyes of the common people, yet in the market of the judgment Day, they are as precious as the pearls hidden in the oysters for every drop of the pearly sweats resembles an ornament studded with rubies,

Although the robe of justice that has been bestowed upon you by the just king provides sufficient coverings for the lapses in this world yet the writer is fully confident that there is nothing [illegible] the garb of forgiveness which would be [illegible] given to you [illegible] the treasure of [illegible] who hideth things with the veil of forgiveness and mercy. (Oh! [illegible] one who is [illegible] we all [illegible] make him [illegible] the day when all persons will be [illegible] of all [illegible] [illegible]

There is an interesting letter from [illegible] Amir Khusrau to a [illegible] of [illegible] the Government [illegible] connected with the revenue [illegible] and gifts [illegible] land and gifts [illegible] property. The addressee, Sharfuddaulah, was regarded as a great personality to whom the writer offered his countless salutations and described himself as one of his followers. "After expressing the desire to meet him, he begins to eulogize in highly flown language his spiritual chief" Maulana, the sea of excellences, Nizamul-Millat-Waddin, the wearer of the garland of the jewels of meaningful thoughts, whose pearly (scholarly) utterances and compositions, specially in the field of *Fiqh* had dessiminated knowledge far and wide, particularly, in Delhi, situated on the river of Jamuna, which had eclipsed the rivers Tigres of Baghdad and the Nile of Egypt. Many people had derived extensive benefits from the saintly scholar in theological learning. The writer introduces himself also as a man of learning largely because of his associations with him and says that despite his lofty position in learning and piety he had included him amongst his true followers and he had gained perfection in disposition through him.

Then he reverts to the addressee and comes to the main purport of the letter relating to the raiyat and villages. He expresses his hopes at the outset that the addressee would pay his attention to the expectations and aspirations of all classes of human beings (Insan Az Har Nau) and requests that if any one wanted a town or village (Delhi) to earn his livelihood, bread [illegible] with out any exception or tax of unlawfulness it should be granted to him and that such a person should be also granted protection by [illegible] that he might remain immune from the oppression of the people [illegible] of the caliphate and might become free like animals and birds within the precincts of the sacred enclosure. He further says that if any one sought favour in the form of *Idrar*, regularly recurring grant in cash to the learned and the pious) it should be sanctioned to

already gone a long way, and everyone of the oppressed people has become [illegible], being neither dead nor alive, under the darkness of their tyranny [illegible] of [illegible] man. If by your burning flame you illumine them, the [illegible] a little of the warmth of your tongue they would [illegible] by the cold breath. The tyrannical people have be[illegible] by the [illegible] and [illegible] that if they see a lamp become so [illegible] of with pride and [illegible] to put it out at once [illegible] burnt, [illegible] a wind [illegible] they try to put it out at once.

Praise be to God that the [illegible] has [illegible] such a man of profound learning as Shaikh [illegible] in charge of the [illegible] law. He would let the stream of justice [illegible] and he would wash [illegible] off the [illegible] of oppression. The hail-stricken [illegible] of tyrants who were crying at the top of their voices for divine wrath against the tyrannical ones, who are so numerous, and for help and protection of those who were oppressed, would now remain under the protection of the department of justice without any fear of injury or onslaughts of the tyrannical ones." Verses "Let not any oppressed person shed tears from his eyes like rains after this, and let not any tyrannical person have a bright smile on his face like lightening **hereafter."**

The story of tyranny and oppression of the **strong-armed** and long-handed ones is so long as to defy detailed description and the scale of the sufferings of the oppressed ones is too heavy to be matched in terms of words on the scale of justice, verses "The hearts of the creatures of God have been broken to pieces by excesses committed against them, in the same way as the glasses are split asunder by stones which fall upon them. Now that the [illegible] which means the rope of God have been placed in the hands of the most just one of the nobles (*Ashraf al Umara*), **the oppressive hands** of the powerful ones should be held fast and bound so as to make their [illegible] feeble and useless to do any and to the capable [illegible] in the unlawful [illegible] hand [illegible] Verses "When the [illegible] the hearts of [illegible] their nails be blood [illegible] **from their nails".**

[illegible] advice [illegible] has been [illegible] and it is hoped that you would not take it otherwise and will excuse [illegible] **and**

We may also consider the passages which throw some light on the prevalent condition of the judiciary which was far from satisfactory, and on the corruption and injustice which needed effective check and eradication in the following piece. This is a letter which is supposed to have been addressed by a subordinate official to a newly appointed chief of the court of *Mazālim*, called here *Dad Begi*, today *Amir-i-Dād*, who was above the *Qāzi*, 'Your sincere servant, Husain Naqib, who is one of your followers offers his felicitations to you and [illegible] gratitude to God, the just, on your well-deserved appointment to the post of *Dād Begi*, and hopes that you would always be [illegible] justice in such a way that those who are oppressed [illegible] complaint against you. Everybody knows that all that exists is liable to change except *Dād* justice, which will be the same even in the reverse order. Since it is so, you should always be very particular in doing justice. When the sense of justice takes firm root in your heart you would adorn the position of the chief of the court of complaints (*Sadrul-Mazālim*), and for that reason you would not deviate from the path of the men of justice. From every side fissures of disturbances would be opened upon you and you would have to exercise your heavy responsibility and weighty integrity and shut all avenues of bribery and corruption so that those who stealthily cause mischiefs to creep in might not have an occasion for meddling. If the Qāzi opens the door you should set up a wall in your front and deliberately keep yourself aloof so that the foundation of goodness and virtue which would be strengthened afresh by your clean and pure disposition might not be affected by hollow and useless argumentation. Since the Qāzis are generally hard-hearted (not amenable to reason), they would start from basis of hostilities. You know that those who build up magnificent gates through bribery would have to see them topple down in deep abyss. If one having known the door to Hell does not turn away from it, he is sure to fall in the lowest depth. And when they make recommendations which are not in accord with the canon law you should turn a deaf ear to them by reason of the light of integrity that is in you, and in telling truth you should be frank and bitter with your words which may be jarring to the ears so that anyone who is mischievous might not extend his scheme (get a long rope) and become firmly entrenched with it.

It may be made clear to you that the oppressions practised by the dark-hearted wealthy persons on the Darweshes of enlightened mind have

comes before him. However much he is asked to have a favourable view of the complaints on the basis of Nu'mān Hanafi interpretation, he does not mind it. He does not accept as correct the judgment of the Qāzi on the subject and always transfer the Mark Dinar [illegible] By amassing money, [illegible] Jafar Dawaniqi Abhisat [illegible] proper. He [illegible] computations and makes to explain [illegible] the basis [illegible]

[illegible] of the [illegible] of *Ādāb-ul Qāzi*. He [illegible] *Fiqh* [illegible] Qāzi's [illegible], and therefore he should be taught *Adab* punished. Every day a number of people demanding right and justice go to him with proper interpretation of religious law Shara, but he ignores that and takes recourse to mischiefs Shar. Sometimes he uses force, and sometimes takes recourse to deceit and falsehood. He proudly asserts "I am the *Wāli* (Governor) and the Qāzi has no authority Wa[illegible] over me. I have acquired vast knowledge by burning midnight candle, and yet he calls me user of unlawful hellish things [illegible] be taken. It is unfortunate that the Qāzi with all the greatness of his turban is fated to exercise his judicial functions on this earth and to [illegible] the [illegible] the tyrant.

The writer has put in a few things [illegible] the wisest of the earth in the hope that he would administer justice as Sa'id-i-Jahan, would not tolerate such contemptuous attitude with regard to the religious law, and would place every thing before the most just king. First, the aggrieved Qāzi should be given what is justly due to him, then the distressed afflicted people, who have suffered and rested on the Government, should be rendered help because of his strong sense of justice. All this should be fully explained before the king with the result that the tyrant would be removed from his place with ropes thrown round his neck and he would be carried and paraded like cattle and [illegible] Muslims which had [illegible] away from such people and [illegible] punishment where [illegible] so that it may serve [illegible] such a manner (II-22—25).

There is an interesting [illegible] refers to one Maulana Najmuddin who is styled as a Wakil. Perhaps in the 13th century there

[illegible] people and [illegible] administration of justice II-11-17

[illegible] Shah Jahan [illegible] Diwan-ul-Mazalim [illegible] the state. Such [illegible] Zirul-Haqq, Wazir Nadir Rahimin [illegible] Diwan-ul-Mazalim, [illegible] the rightness of the faith vestating their [illegible] upon them. The [illegible] Wali [illegible] whom they [illegible] and [illegible] to this people [illegible] that the case fated sinner person is worth [illegible] (Damm) when it is clinched. [illegible]

and wherever particles of [illegible] as whatever

says that the essential and most approved of the things in a Qāzi are that he has certain knowledge of the rights of the people, discriminates between lawful wealth and that gained [illegible], and the closest view or experience of the conditions of the people. He should look into the grievances of the oppressed [illegible] the ruled against the tyranny of the ruler. He [illegible] impartiality [illegible] equal [illegible] is a calumniation between [illegible] like the letters [illegible] *Sīn* [illegible] separate [illegible] and the [illegible] would have to compel him to hand it over to the complainant. He should appoint such agents or representatives *Wakāla* to the tribunals of the dominion as are not afraid of the orders of Government, and they should not be such as to make things difficult which are easy and simple. He should support and strengthen the position of his substitutes or deputies *Nuwāb*, in the courts of the capital (Hazrat) cities, Madāian, country-side (Khitat), and small town (Qasabāat) in carrying out the provisions of law and orders of the judicial departments. They should instruct and emphatically enjoin upon them not to allow deceit and fraud of the satanic people to interfere with the administrative affairs and blacken the faces of the pages of papers by issuing false decrees. They should not summarily deal with such matters and give such orders as may clearly distinguish truth from falsehood. They should realise that the *Tankas* Money gained by bribery will make their existence feeble and futile like the spider's web, and they should have no concern with those the doors of whose houses appear to be white with their transient wealth. They should remain content with their own lawful acquisitions and adhere strictly to all the rules of the faith and of justice so that they may have a place among the Qazis in paradise and not those of hell. The [illegible] of college *Madāris*, should be [illegible] with gems of knowledge [illegible] with more stone ways and [illegible] students [illegible] as [illegible] whose mind [illegible] allowed opportunity [illegible] repeating the [illegible] *Lucha* Wahfu and not those who [illegible] charge of the endowed property are thoroughly acquainted with, and abide by, the conditions of justice and integrity. The Qāzi should super-

[illegible] at Sri S[illegible] at the demand [illegible] half of [illegible] and the [illegible] for a long time and [illegible] [illegible] The people has no *Dinar* in [illegible] caps at the bathing [illegible] *Kalin* [illegible] clothes, [illegible] straps [illegible] water, [illegible] We [illegible] used to wash the [illegible] people in [illegible] there [illegible] and proceed [illegible] I passed among them in [illegible] which [illegible] kept in my heart was [illegible] to treat them and expose them. [illegible] *Kalar* which was to be sent by exposure to [illegible] at last [illegible] that they used the habits of others. I [illegible] who wash the clothes of every body with the help of the [illegible] clothes that I wore. In brief, I put all [illegible] like worms of water to the greatest [illegible] task of taking out the oil from sands and [illegible] water. In short, [illegible] wealth accrued from the treasures [illegible] the name which the whole of the public [illegible] in two years was [illegible] the cost of one month. *Mawad Bakr* Mir [illegible] of public [illegible] sent the report of [illegible] the [illegible] of justice. The king sent [illegible] the [illegible] of the current [illegible] the [illegible] the Dinar by way of my [illegible] I was [illegible] made the [illegible] that [illegible] the [illegible] with bread and water (II-101-113).

[illegible] earth was [illegible] right in the sight of God. [illegible] was [illegible] chief judge of Delhi [illegible] needs and the extent [illegible] jurisdiction, defined his [illegible] and enjoined upon all [illegible] It

conversant with such affairs. He also opened his lips in admiration. At first he praised the works, ability and capacity of Khizr and afterwards made some encouraging observations about me, Ilyās, his old protegé. He said that although Khizr was a man of suspicious nature, wherever he went things flourished and there was a regular growth of vegetation and enough of irrigational facilities. Ilyās, had also been always a river agent (*Ghat-vālā-i-Bahr*) and had much practical knowledge of the matter and for many years he had remained engrossed in such activities. If the king of the world, the Lord of the land, would provide him to look after the river passages and ferries of Jimuna and the Ganges he would perform this work efficiently. The king sent for me, Ilyās, and made me deputy manager of the fleet of the river boats (*Nayubat-i-Bahr-i-Beyt*).

Being so favoured by the court I became busily engaged in the execution of the work associated with the water passages and the crossing of rivers. The boats which had all been assembled in one river were despatched elsewhere to be plied in different rivers and the excessive latitude which had been enjoyed by the boatmen was ended and they were properly controlled. Though there were some complications they were got over, and the refractory boatmen were suspended and their work was entrusted to others. I made each of them responsible for his work by catching hold of his jugular veins. The fishermen who gathered many Dirhams by catching and selling fishes and exacted money even for the skin of the fishes gave with great difficulty, after making many excuses, out of their entire capital earning only that much which [illegible] to the income of two months and kept the balance earned during the 12 months to themselves in their own [illegible] they gave only two-twelfths of their earning to the state. [illegible] the river [illegible] the river [illegible] the washermen [illegible] every week [illegible] Dirhams. I asked them when the fish catchers paid some thing more than 60 by applying their fishing

[illegible] Further it became stale. The roads became [illegible] the top of the hedges [illegible] the [illegible] Travellers [illegible] R[illegible] [illegible] at [illegible] Adam I[illegible] [illegible] that the [illegible] following description, though hideous [illegible] the state of Jamaica 1712 is not devoid of significance [illegible] a student of history. It tells us about the [illegible] wells, banks, reservoirs, streams, [illegible] of water works and the [illegible] of persons employed [illegible] works and to [illegible] fisheries [illegible] One Hears the [illegible] these days on [illegible] the [illegible] [illegible] Mr. [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

"In matters relating to diffusion of justice and welfare of the subjects, he has, by his illuminated [illegible] formulated rules and ordinances the like of which could not be reflected in the mirror of Alexander's imagination, and could not be seen in the cup of Jamshed. To ensure the cheapness of foodgrains which are the heavenly bliss sustenance he had, by his own [illegible] judgement, [illegible] of regulations [illegible] fixed standard of measurement [illegible] because of which, if it wears the [illegible] pour the sweats of the crop [illegible] does not wave or move its fan, the [illegible] reduce, and the [illegible] [illegible] generosity [illegible] he and said down the rules that a certain proportion of the yield of the crop should be kept in reserve stores for the emergent situation). As regards the other essentials of life of the common people, even if they be the red sulpher or white ruby they were made both cheaper and more easily and abundantly available than the yellow amber and insignificant berries. Moreover, wealth which is the elixir of desires (Ultimate objective, and the treasure house of cherished aspirations, has been gathered out of the elephant-loads of gifts and the abundant charities, and there is no difficulty felt by any body in making purchases. As a result of this convenience and comfort and prosperity have become quite visible in the country. The poor people are living happy life as sparrows which get their share of grains from every garden" 1-19-20

This is followed by a short account concerning "sovereignty, safety and security" The Divine Ordination wrote the mandate, "I have made you my vicegerent on earth" and decreed that "you should be the ruler and adjuster of affairs, and I selected you to administer justice", and according to another Quranic expression "Verily God gives you order to govern with justice and benevolence" the good fortune, security and prosperity of the subjects made them exceedingly happy and contented with his administration of justice. On account of the excellent policies they kept nocturnal vigils. Owing to general peace and security they provided all the weapons of war [illegible] the [illegible] washed their backs off their arrows and the [illegible] warriors of the Earth have [illegible] [illegible] the hearts of the Hindus. The sweet provisions of the Turks Tatar Char-Turk [illegible] a kind of sweet meat, which

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

their treasure gradually and little by little sometimes to ward off the evils and calamities from them, and sometimes to gain glory by following the dictum of the Quran "give Zakât" in order to protect their planets of existence from the burning onsloughts of the Divine warning." Their foreheads and sides will be branded by them gold and silver. If the wicked saturny people high waymen have an eye on their annually earned wealth and want to snatch it away from their powerful hands they are put in chains by our pleiades-studded swords. As regards the poor people and wayfarers of different directions who travel a long distance [illegible] their feet in the [illegible] my [illegible], I help [illegible] from the [illegible] so that the palm of their hands may acquire a red hue by holding the jewels in their hands (IV-115)

This is followed by similar observations regarding the grants of favours and encouragements to saintly and pious personages, teachers of deep and sound scholarship, and students who dissolved the marrow of their brains and the tallow of their pupils and in enkindling the lamp of learning, burn out the candle of their lives (IV-116-117).

Amir Khusrau has given his own estimate of the achievments of Alauddin Khalji under various headings. After bestowing many grandiloquent titles on "Alauddunia Waddin Sultan Muhammad Shah as the sun of caliphs and the Sultans", "the shadow of God on the two worlds", "the defender of the community of Muhammad", the commander of the faithful etc. and praising his "black parasol", he writes about the chastisement of the Mongols. The cupped-headed ones who every year brought the chains from Tamar Qiq to take away captives from India were themselves either cut down by the sword or were sent in chains to the hell. Some escaped the sword by being enchained and their lives were [illegible]. Although continuous enchainment meant their virtual liberation, [illegible] devils being picked up [illegible] their power and strength, broke their chains and raised [illegible]. The commander [illegible] that some of the Tartars [illegible] be [illegible] on the battlements of the [illegible] towed, [illegible] were made to [illegible] the [illegible] other Tartars and their [illegible] were buried in the earth [illegible] seeds sprouted [illegible] Tartar sweet basil may sprout up. Afterwards, out of the heads of those dogs of Mars towers were built up. In other distant parts of the kingdom similar towers were

[illegible] Sultan expressed his attitude towards the [illegible] special [illegible] people. I fasten tight the five [illegible] people who [illegible] the necks of the subjects [illegible] that the [illegible] blood which has [illegible] the blood [illegible] the [illegible] [illegible] and sympathetic [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

ing none of my victorious army must tread and trample the cultivated fields of the village peasants with the hoofs of the horses nor must any of the grass suppliers take even a blade of grass and straw from the thatched roof of any villager (II-7).

For the 'Ashab-i-Zimma' (protected non-Muslims) who have tied their knots of association with the strong string of the religious law and have [illegible] their [illegible] to our shares and [illegible] have stretched very [illegible] fall fortunately the strings of the [illegible] regarding avenues [illegible] should not be involved in agonies by entering into [illegible] with their rivals (Munāziīn) (IV-112).

If the rigidity of their views, indicative of the sense of the text "We follow the path of our fore-father's", is so deeply imprinted on their souls and serves as an amulet in the veins of their neck and can in no way be removed from their crooked nature, but they are prepared to bear the burden of responsibilities on their shoulders (i.e. if they pefer to be Zimmis to the abjuration of their ancestral faith) you should allow them to enter the circle of (guarantee) their safety and security. They must be submissive and should not show any sign of hostility and antagonism. (They know) that if they do not do so they will severely be dealt with by the sword and thoroughly punished.. The aforesaid group of people know that their welfare lies in abstaining form all kinds of mischiefs and shunning all such acts as may tend to mischiefs and disturbances They should be like those virtuous people who, what to speak of committing sin, even avoid all occasions of association with the sinners At the time of the demand of Khiraj and Jizya (tribute and poll-tax) they should show such submissiveness that if they demand the water of their eyes they are prepared to part with the greeze of their pupils, and they are readily responsive to the system to such an extent that if their big men (leaders) are ordered to get into the rat's hole they would run towards it and creep into it (IV-139-140) This is followed by the advice given to Prince Fatehullah to give complete protection and safety from the sword to the people of south when they surrendered the reins of their loyalty and submission to his hand. The views expressed here and by Barni in his work though reflecting the attitude of the contemporary Muslim Divines [illegible] be said to be in complete conformity with the Quranic injunctions for anything taken or done in excess of that which is laid down is condemned.

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] tradition that "Had there been no Sultan [illegible] people would [illegible] meaning thereby that there would [illegible] and [illegible] peace in the [illegible] people [illegible] He [illegible] the way [illegible] of [illegible] Imaq [illegible] temporary [illegible] the [illegible] that [illegible] Hindu [illegible] Muslim [illegible] Zimmis [illegible] Muslim [illegible] matters concerning the [illegible] Muslims [illegible] of the Zimmis and [illegible] protection against open competition with their [illegible] is worth noticing. But elsewhere (IV-140) while he writes to his son about the Zimmis recalls to our mind the relevant dialogue between Qazi Mughis and Alauddin. Another thing which attracts our notice, in view of the age in which the book was compiled, is that the Sultan placed himself before the public for testing and examining him regarding the government and administration. "Tā Jāyeza Ulul-Amr-i-Minkum Az Farmān-i-Man Hadiya-i-Lauh-i-Pashāni-i-Tābiān i-omur-i-Mulk-Dāri Gardad" so that the examination of my claim to be the person meant by the expression "those who are in authority amongst you" may be found writ large on the forehead of the subjects of the State (IV-102). He had to abide by the law of God. But there is no reference anywhere throughout the book as to what would or should happen in case he failed to do so. Allowing the need for some discreet concealment on the one hand and exaggerated laudation on the other, it is probable that Amir Khusrau had his own misgivings about the ways of the reigning kings. Among the [illegible] of one of his sons he says "one should not rely on the caressing [illegible] of the kings for they are like the sun which gives lustre and [illegible] Beware! Verily, a man [illegible] Do not rely on [illegible] who [illegible] (IV-[illegible])

[illegible] extracts from a supposed Farman [illegible] Persian [illegible] on the [illegible] exaltation of the faith of Muhammad, [illegible] a special [illegible] of the Sultan [illegible] over the [illegible] kingdom [illegible] occupy the veil-like seat of honour of the current law which is valid for ever, and distinguished him with the special eminence and excellency

among th[illegible]ves. There is no conception of kingship or autocracy o[illegible] any [illegible]. Divine sanction in the Islamic scriptures, and Islam does [illegible] a sacerdotal or [illegible] hereditary priesthood, and [illegible] was appointed by a divine or superior authority [illegible] interpretation of the canon law was infallible. An[illegible] body [illegible] Qur'ān and Hadīs can [illegible] the Divine [illegible] the ruler [illegible] the rulers [illegible] those who perform the [illegible] [illegible] God in the [illegible] of the government and society, and the Sharīat and Zawābit laws are not quite like those of the ancient Jewish community. Obedience to the Amīr or head of the state is mandatory, but a safeguard against autocracy has been provided for by the necessity of consulting in the transaction of all political business. Obedience to God and to Prophet is incumbent on the rulers as on any man. Those rulers who do not obey God and the prophet will forfeit the right of being obeyed. Though all ultimate authority rests in God and not in the people. His agent upon earth is not utterly irresponsible for, while acting according to His revealed will, he has to consult "men of the world" and the "men of the pen" who are the leaders of the community, and he is never authorised to set [illegible] all beyond the injunctions of the Sharīat law and ignore [illegible] usages and conventions. Explaining the Qur'ānic words "[illegible] among yourselves refer it to God and His Apostle [illegible] in God and the Last Day", a modern translator of [illegible] says [illegible] in actual fact, there is [illegible] between [illegible] and religious matters. [illegible] still expe[illegible] to be [illegible] that [illegible] essence [illegible] Qur[illegible] arti[illegible]

Ap[illegible] [illegible] It was the [illegible] and country that the centre of all [illegible] holding [illegible] power in the state was the [illegible] Sultan [illegible] the head of the [illegible] [illegible] need of a strong and effective power and quoted more than [illegible]

POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC FRAGMENTS FROM RISAIL UL-I'JAZ OF AMIR KHUSRAU

In a paper read at the Ranchi Session of the Indian History Congress an attempt was made to glean from Amir Khusrau's Risail-ul-Iaz some material of political and historical interest. There is, however, much [illegible] of the 14th century [illegible] views are impressed on the prevailing [illegible] which is well worth the attention of those who are interested in the political and administrative history and want to know something about economic aspects and social behaviour of the people of that distant age. Literary glimpses of life and conditions, political, social, economic and religious have got their limitations, and this is especially the case not only with the factual inadequacy and narrow political approach but also because of the luxuriant verbiage, verbal niceties, and pompous complicated phraseology of Amir Khusrau's style. They can not serve as a safe basis for historical deductions, but we may take them as reflecting the spirit of the age, and at any rate, the way of thinking of one who was himself a writer of historical Masanavis and a notable historical personality.

We may begin with what Amir Khusrau says and puts forward on behalf of the greatest of the Khalji Sultans about the principles of State, policy or methods of government, and his claims and achievements to ensure peace, justice and prosperity in his wide-flung realm. It would be interesting, however, to know how far what Amir Khusrau writes about the system of state craft was in accord with the political thought of orthodox Islam of the mediaeval age. According to the creed enunciated by Islam real sovereignty belongs to God from whom all authority flows. The Sultan is the vicegerant Khalifa of God on earth, and is capable of expressing the will or command of God in the form of Divine or canon law — Shara. Islam requires that the ruler should be just and merciful, he ruled should obey, and there should be mutual consultation between the two for there is the principle enunciated in the revealed dictum "Amrahum Shura Baynahum" (Their business is to consult

Wa Sakish Az Ahaoo Sang" (It was a realm and not a mere fortress and was full of manly, valiant people. It was sky high and built in the [illegible] and was made [illegible] of iron and stone) In Chunin Qi'a-i Mahmud Jahandar Gradi Ba [illegible] was Shoorat Na Ba makr-O Nairang. Such a fort was [illegible] by Mahmud, the world-possesser because of his [illegible] and [illegible] with sword-[illegible] or war-fair manoeuvring. Gradi [illegible] Ba [illegible] O [illegible] Chunin Gazare Bad [illegible] Ra'i Mar [illegible] Na [illegible] [illegible] and [illegible] fort was [illegible] fresh and [illegible] [illegible] vegetation. The density was so great that [illegible] [illegible] a snake could creep through it. [illegible] [illegible] name of this ancient locality.

for some notice. Cloves could be had from the south and east and taken to the west, but saffron, if grown, as now, only in Kashmir, could have been taken from the north west to the eastern regions and not vice versa. If Cambodia, Indo-China and the islands of the Indian archipelago and saffron producing tracts there was the possibility of saffron being brought to Bihar from there and conveyed thence to Agra.

Should we take the whole thing as a figment of the author's imagination? But this can not be said about the reference to Agra which is said to have owed its importance, if not its existence, to Sikandar Lodi of the 15th century. The earliest Persian chronicles of the 13th and 14th centuries are completely silent about it, but it was a ready a place of considerable importance and had a great fortress in the time of the Ghaznawads of Multan, Lahor and Jalandhar.

Note :—The earliest reference to Agra in Persian literature is found in the Diwan of Masud Saad Salman (D. 515 .121), a courtier and panegyrist of Prince Saifuddaula Mahmud, a great grand-son of his celebrated name sake, Mahmud of Ghazna. He obtained the Indian viceroyalty from his father, Sultan Ibrahim bin Masud (1058—1099 A. D.), in 469 = 1079. His *Qasidas* contain some new information of historical value. We are told that soon after his appointment he marched at the head of 40 thousand troops from Ghazni and embarked on a career of conquests in Hindustan. King Jaipal's strong fort of Agra which had never felt the weight of Muslim arms and was described as "Doshiza" (virgin) was undated.

Jaipal described as "Amir i-Agra" had a frightful dream and offered to surrender and pay a huge amount of 'Tankas', but he was not spared and the fort was taken after two day's stiff resistance on Nauroz day (New years' Day). There is an interesting line in one of the Qasidas which shows that the Lahor born poet was familiar with the Indian or the Hindavi tongue. 'Cho Raad az Abr Bighirrid Kos i-Mahmudi Baramid Az Pasay Diwar-i-Hisn *Mara Maar*" (p. 2[illegible]) i.e. The drum of Mahmud roared like thunder from the cloud and from behind the walls of the fort the cry arose 'Mara Maar'. Some of the verses give an idea of the region and the site of the fort. 'Mah-i-Nauroz Digir Bar Bama Roo way Nimad Qila-i-Agra Darsaurd Malik Zada Ba chang' (The Nauroz festivity has again shown itself to us,—the fort of Agra has been captured by the king's son). "Qishwar-i-Bud Na Qila Hama Pur Mard-i-Dilair—Bar Hawa Bar Shuda

addressee worthy of respect attention, would make the impossible possible so as to lead to the recovery of the lost money, and no amount of pretext would stand in the way. A small sum of a few *Tankas* is being sent to meet the expenses of the road watching [illegible] (Shag I -Rasad). Although the attachment of the object appears at present to be doubtful, there are hundreds of people in the headquarter of the addressee who can advance some money. At the expense of the current year and with one month's interest that a small sum in instalments having been corrected might be deposited in the *Bahmani* State Treasury. For the humble slave Hasan, this amount may be taken as a loan of [illegible] (*Qarz-i Hasana*) [illegible] interest and received in the presence of the borrower, and the whole matter may be treated in such a way that there is no noise or publicity about it (II-318-23).

References to trade by land and sea, some imports and exports, are not wanting, but there is no clear information about the organisation of commerce and means and modes of locomotion and transport. We are told about a class of wandering merchants who travelled in Caravans for the sake of safety, conveying their merchandise from one place to another. But they could not escape the onslaughts of robbers and high-way men who infested the roads and routes and waited in ambush to pounce upon the Caravans at opportune moments. A Caravan of Lambans, carrying loads of betel leaves, was proceeding from Gujrat towards Delhi. To escape from the obligation of paying the usual tax or duty (Baj) on their goods, they had changed their routes and were passing through a thick jungle. When they had reached a place which had two old and deserted wells, they were suddenly waylaid by a band of *Rawat* horsemen of *Jarur* who killed and wounded all those who resisted the plunder of their goods (II-249-50).

No less interesting is the case of a Caravan which was proceeding from Basar towards Agra and was carrying cloves and saffron leaves (Qirafal Wa Shajh-i-Zafran) in their bags. When they had passed through the mango orchards of Amb and had come near the forest of Chandrarath which was infested by robbers, the aroma of the precious commodities had spread and saturated the atmosphere. Getting the scent the robbers quickly rushed to the place like cold boisterous winds of autumn and stripped them off everything leaving them like the withered trees of the autumn season (I-156). Two things in this small piece call

gold flowed they might go to China and Cathay and blacken those regions by their nefarious deeds. They pretended to be on terms of friendship with the people, big and small, but ruined the foundation of their prosperity. Resembling them was a Hindu named Khanna Abegi who dealt in chips and rubbish and allowed himself to be led wherever they wanted (to push up their business). They sold lettuces at the rate of cloves, and the people with wide open eyes were so blind as to fall into the pit (of perfidy). When they entered the city they encamped near the mint place (Darul Zarb). The writer exchanged greetings with them not yet knowing that they had perfidious hearts. They poured sherbet like water and overwhelmed their new acquaintances with favours. They were more critical judge of men than the writer, for looking slyly at his face they assessed that they could exploit him to their advantage. One day they represented that they had some jewels in their possession which they were afraid to bring out lest they might be robbed of them. They said that they were in need of one thousand Tankas, which they would invest in business, and when their business prospered they would return the whole amount. Falling a prey to their deception he gave them all that he had accumulated by undergoing many pains and facing many difficulties. The sharp (Arabic speaking) tongued people posed that they had taken the money on credit and they promised to return the same after a month. But even after the expiry of 6 months they failed to discharge the debts.

If an appeal is made or recourse had to the religious tribunal (Diwan-i Shara) they would negotiate and fill the ears of the *Qazi* with the jingling sounds of gold *Tankas* so as to prevent him from hearing the evidential words, and they would so seal the mouth of *Amir-i-Dad* with *Adali* coins as to make him unable to speak out the truth. In power and resources they are like hills and our words with them are like winds (having no weight with them). But for the support of a *Farman* from a powerful authority which can make the mines yield jewels hidden in stones, it was not possible to bring out the (misappropriated) money from them. As in all matters pertaining to the broken hearted weak ones, nothing can be done by way of allaying and soothing them without the help of the big and strong ones, it is earnestly requested that the case of tyranny may be treated with firm authority so that whatever was the stock of comfort of the writer and has gone into the grips of those powerful ones might be brought out in their hands intact. Although their grip is hard and strong like iron a severe action would break it, and the *Farman* of the august

essentially legal provisions for four brides. There is an over flow in the market. Well decked and well equipped slave girls with carriers of burden and other paraphernalia can be had either for ten Tankas or for twenty-twelve. The garments and clothes are sixteen cheap. One can purchase at the rate of one yard for two. Dhoti Rs. [illegible] cotton of such fine thin and delicate texture that the Indian wearer wraps his head with a hundred yards [illegible] be visible from under it. You can [illegible] the cost of other clothes. Fruits, food and vegetables and the other essential commodities [illegible] are as plentiful and [illegible] the market prices as books of the students and the Muslims of the [illegible] people [illegible].

Whenever any market [illegible] or trader [illegible] and cringes and when he has to [illegible] the Muslim merchants [illegible] different. The merchants [illegible] of their black faces [illegible] the [illegible] precedence [illegible] weight measuring rod and of the grain merchant from the perpendicular shaft of his balance which never bends and is never curved. The money changers who make bad coins good can never make their hearts good. There is a difference between marklist-dealers or traders who make a profit of one out of ten and contented traders of the intermediate end (Ma [illegible]) who make a profit of ten out of one. Although the dealer in gold weighs it on the balance made of brass and the money-changer of grain (Mabtakhran or register) weighs the brass on a golden scale, if you look at things closely you will find the absence of [illegible] the scales (pans) of both. The jeweller should not be compared with the grain merchants, and pearls should not be weighed on scales made with the help of skins. The weaver and the makers of gauze fabric are co-professionals, and one is the copy of the other.

The professional and unscrupulous character of a set of foreign merchants [illegible] been exposed [illegible] the [illegible] Muslim [illegible] Dec[illegible] [illegible] the [illegible] the [illegible] who [illegible] Europe, [illegible] E[illegible] the [illegible] capital, [illegible] of [illegible] through which streams of

Dirams. Although in the eyes of the people such a pearl was of no value yet on the day of Resurrection it would be of no less in worth and value than the real pearl. On the whole, all these artisans are content with their small wages, but they contribute to the well-being of the state and put the seal of the saying "the labourer is a friend of God on the coin of their honour."

The picture presented of the poor cultivators (Kashawarzan-i-Miskin) is not different from what we find today. With sweats trickling down from his fore-head, he tears open the field with his plough (Juftawan), waters the dry and parched soil, sows the seeds which spr at, one into thousand, removes the rubbish, roots and grass, pl es his s che (Bidas) for cutting the ready corn, sav of shali paddy or wheat et removes the grains from the straw, makes them ready for the handmi's for gr ding, and thus provides food for many 'other' people.

That the state was not quite oblivious of its duty towards the painstaking peasants and professional workers (Peshwaran-i-Ranjkash) is indicated from an extract in the alleged letter of Sultan Alauddin, written in the year of his accession " I have deputed smart and kind informants and secret agents to enlighten me about those poor industrious people who live in dark corners without much provisions, with no fire in the day and lamp in the night. I have issued the Parwanas so that with fire-coloured money they may inflame hopes in their hearts and extinguish the fire raging in their stomach with the waters of favours. Their iron hands are keys to the doors of their daily portion The cultivators dig the earth and saturate it with drops of sweats instead of those of the rains, as a result of which they get the produce As regards the harvest reaped and piled up in barns, in estimating the share of the state I shall make the post of the balance from Alif of Insaaf (halves) and from Nun of the scale of justice, according to this measure, the legal share will be taken by me from the place of the cultivated produce, and I shall store it in the granary for the Judgement day.(IV-114-5)

We get interesting references to trade, internal and external, to markets and cheapness of commodities, and also about the dishonest ways of the shop keepers and dealers in trade and craft In the market place people, on account of overcrowding, jostle against each other and haggle and bargain like the disputing, turbaned [illegible] and chattles are very cheap, so much so that ten Dirams [illegible] for

to them. A method of achieving this purpose was that one should put the crown of superiority off one's head and follow in the foot-steps of many people. He invokes the blessings of God on the hands of those tradesmen and artisans (Kasiban), who earned their bread by lawful means. He refers to the leather workers and says that they picked up with their teeth of wisdom the salt-saturated leather for making shoes and stocking and by their actions they contributed to the good and comfort of the people, and at the same time earned their bread lawfully and without adopting any unlawful methods. Verses: The biting of leather for the sake of lawful bread is better than eating the mutton of sheep (Dumba). The tailoring profession is commendable in the eyes of farsighted persons because the tailor makes his life instead of garments which cover the bodies of men. The wages that the workers get is well earned provided the linen supplied or portion thereof was not misappropriated. By cutting away portions of cloth he cut the curtain away from himself and exposed himself to his fault finders. The shoe maker's bread was more lawfully earned than that of the dishonest tailor. The Kafsh daz (boot-maker) tears his leather to provide foot-wear to people but nobody tears his own skin. While the Khayyat or Darz with his double tongued scissors tears the clothes of others and obtains a patch for himself from the cloth he cuts. Therefore one who wants that on account of one's ill-gotten money one may not have to rub one's hands of grief on the day of **Resurrection (IV 272-273)**

References to many other professional workers such as cooks (Tabbakh), bakers (Khabbazan), confectioners (halwaiyan), potters (kuzagran), [illegible] (Sammakh), butchers (Qassaban), carpenters (Najjar), **fishermen (Mahigiran)**, snake charmers (Mazgir), jugglers (Mashabbidi), [illegible], grain merchants (Ghalla Farashan), wool cutters (H[illegible]), [illegible] (Zarkaban), tailors (Kayyat), [illegible], though not devoid of interest, may be [illegible] to quote what our author says [illegible] (V 1[illegible]). The [illegible] who earn their [illegible] [illegible] by [illegible] earned their bread lawfully [illegible] there is no trace of lawful earning in [illegible] labouring at bricks and stone drop [illegible] for those stringing pearls [illegible] of

in making bows from the glues of the fish. A certain embroiderer employed his needles so nicely as to make flowers of gold blossom. One of the tailors was so expert with his scissor that he could split a hair into two and could stitch with his needles two hairs into one, and another old one whose white flowing beard resembled fringe of a woman's scarf was so skilful that when called upon to repair a rent, split or fissure in the garment he could produce an embroidered quilt out of it. There was yet another who besides the wages that he got for sewing his fee he took a portion of the cloth and out of the misappropriated pieces he could make a kneepan (Miyan-bizar) and a breast cover (Sanbar) for his wife. As regards the cap makers, some were made so light that the cap could be blown off the head by the sweet breeze, while others were made so heavy and were so awkward looking that they had better be thrown down in the ground. There were fine looking eyes-staggering boots and shoes, and also those whose bad soles made the feet swollen. Some were so bad that the proper place for them was not the feet of the customer but the head of the maker. The goldsmith was a master of manipulation and was expert in taking out a portion of the gold by heating it and using borax. While the wages of the 'Baqqal', 'Sarraf', 'Bazzaz' have been exposed, those of the weaver (Jolaha), as a whole, have been favourably commented upon. They make fine fabrics out of the yarn spun by them. Their honest labour at their looms and the implements and materials they made use of have been referred to in many places (IV-57 6)

Though a member of the upper order and one who moved in highest circles, Amir Khusrau was ever conscious of the dignity of labour and he has shown in unmistakable terms his sympathy for the common wage earners, peasants and labourers. He has commended the professional artisans who earned their livelihood by lawful means but has not spared those given to corrupt methods. He says that the trade and professions were the magnetic means of livelihood, and sickness and indolence led to the uplifting of hands for begging. To pour the milk silver (sweets) from the silvery bore head is to attain the diadem of crowned gold. He has shown his [illegible] for such professions as the [illegible] of the weapons of wars which [illegible] means to [illegible] was related to power and [illegible] of kings and nobles who were [illegible] on wounding and killing. The professions not approved of by Islam should be avoided and such professions should be chosen as might conduce to the comfort of the common people and not mean harm and injury

on fine silk. A man of piety is one who has no ego and Darwaish is like the sun which spreads its light over the whole world. (IV-33-35).

As regards the Ulamas, our author distinguishes an Alim-i-Rabbani (Godly) from an Alim-i-Muzawwir (Knave and cheat), the former being likened to sun and the lamp and the latter to the glow worm visible only in night and burning like a lamp. The big-sized turban on the head of an Alim has been [illegible] to be [illegible] the dragon guarding the treasure. The turban [illegible] of the [illegible] of the [illegible] Oh, what an expert in [illegible] of the [illegible] author, a serpent hidden in [illegible] and purifies souls. The learned man [illegible] more than perceptive [illegible] who knows but does not act is like a box full of books and a wall full of carved engravings. The learned man who hankers after unlawful food and is addicted to plausible and [illegible] explanations has been condemned as one who burns the Mushaf (Quran) and cooks the flesh of of the hog.

Amir Khusrau then proceeds to tell us of three types of people, commonman, those who take to reading and writing, and those who actually produce written works. The first is like a river from which the thirsty is not quenched. The second is like an earthen mug (Kuza) for water or an ewer (Sabu), or a jar (Khum), or a pitcher (Hauz). Whatever was in all these vessels ultimately came out and every drop of water being finished they would all become empty. But those who write and produce books on whatever subject they have specialised in are like a flowing stream which is not exhausted by drawing and expending therefrom. (IV-36-41).

In a section entitled 'Mahirasfa' (artisan's profession) we find a similar emphasizing of exhibition of differences between the [illegible] and artisans [illegible] skilful or otherwise. There are references to various [illegible] professional workers such as [illegible] shoemakers, [illegible] and embroiderers [illegible] and [illegible] Khusrau's friend Shamsi was an expert and [illegible] smith. He made [illegible] and [illegible] swords. He used to [illegible] water before every day he sharpened [illegible] manufacturing instruments used for [illegible] wounds. Sayed Kamaluddin had great pains to his profession as a result of which he had attained perfection

were wide open. When I went upstairs on the roof my head began to reel and heard the voice, of angels When I looked down on the ground I had a panoramic view of the whole tract from Siri to the Jamuna for the moment. I lost my thirst and hunger but ultimately gave myself up to comfort and easeloving. Next day I wanted to pay the rent of 12 months to the special slave girl who was incharge of the house but she refused to take it saying that she would accept it if her master allowed her to do so. Some days passed and when they saw my sufistic disposition a small group of wickedly mad people including the son of Tamar Khan who had occupied the house and who had never spent a day without wine and women to which I had been a witness began to torment me by pelting stones at me. I sought the protection of the wall and lending my ears to the hole behind a wall I played the eversdropper. From whatever door he wanted to enter he found it difficult to carry his accomplices along with him His neighbours were with him and always sided with him. They incited him to reduce me to extremities, but I connived at the misdeeds of the vultures(V-87-89).

A striking feature of Amir Khusrau's treatment is the juxtaposition, or comparison by contrast, of men and things, placing them one against the other. Various social classes, Muslims and Hindus, Turks, Mangols, Afghans, Sayyads, Mashaikh or Sufi mystics, Ulamas, or theologians, Jurists, nobles, officials, peasants, wage-earners, artisans, craftsmen and slaves have all come in within the colourful picture of the literary artist. About the saintly personages he says that the Hazar mekhi khirqa (the religious mendicants habit made up of numerous patches) of the Darwaish is a sacred threshold for the descent of the angelic spirits. The sufistic cap is the goblet of divine love or the mendicant's bowl of the low spirited ones. The man of sanctity and piety taking his rest with a mat under his head is like a river which thrown up all sorts of rubbish and the engraving of mat on the back of the Darwaish looked like the calligraphic display of the saying," My poverty is my pride" The rags in the patched and tattered garment of the Darwaish served as the window for having the spectacle of the other world The cap of the Darwaish is very much superior to the turban of the Ulamas The attachment to wealth by the Sufi is as incompatible as a golden bowl stolen and the ignorance of the Mashaikh with knowledge is as misleading as inappropriate as a blanket on the golden royal chair The Darwaish who is associated with men of affluence is as displeasing for the eyes as the silk belt of course wool

holes appeared in the ceiling that I thought that the covering of the cloud would suffice. When the vaulted hall (Sufa-i-Taq) became a pool of water I sallied out towards the basin of the house (Hauz Khana) which had become like a privy (Abkhana). I withdrew towards the outer bigger hall which was becoming smaller and clung to the threshold or portico (Dahliz) which itself had been overwhelmed with holes. I went upstairs but the roof had become a vast expanse for the watery horse-men (bubbles). I proceeded further and looked around to put down my legs which slipped and I fell heavily on the ground. I stood up and with utter difficulty got down from the first story. When I reached the courtyard the large [illegible] which had been [illegible] down. The domed wall gave away and came down. When I looked at the houses which had become a mass of [illegible] or [illegible] my body made of water and clay melted down. From the house I went into the street and entrusted myself to my horse. Horses resembled boats on the sea. The street was narrow and the walls of the quarter occupied by the paper manufacturers were very lofty. Whenever I raised my head above I was apprehensive of bricks and timber falling on and striking me. At the end of the street I saw a lofty building which was bending down on its back. When I advanced further I saw the balcony or the portico (Rawaq) toppling down along with the roof. Then I ran towards the house of my uncle, Sipahsalar Iftakharuddin, my horse which reluctantly moved out of the house jumped from house to house, being extremely terrified by the sounds of the tumbling houses. The horses which had been the resort and rendezvous of men had come down to the ground. When I arrived at the house of my uncle I found its owner sitting under a canopy of straw which was also leaking. He asked me about my house and its inmates and I quoted the Arabic expression "they were encircled by the waves and hath were submerged" (V-37 ot).

Elsewhere he says that he was staying in the house of one Mahuddaula for which the last 2-1/2 months rent had been pre-paid, leaving not a bert [illegible] of barley (Jaw) as due. When I first set my foot in it I saw a [illegible] like that of paradise. The [illegible] hall and walls and twelve arches [illegible] with the 12 towers of the Zodiac [illegible] different [illegible] were not upside down. The tank or the reservoir of the house [illegible] as [illegible] the citadel [illegible] its water [illegible] Kaiqubad. The [illegible] Kaiqubad [illegible] graphic [illegible] The pillars of [illegible] were [illegible], straight and long and its high [illegible] was

craftsmen, skilled and unskilled etc. An outstanding feature of the book is the valuable information that it furnishes us with about the state of learning and education in subjects like Fiqha (Jurisprudence), Mantiq (logic), Falsafa (philosophy), Ilm-i-Tib (medicine) and Sarf-o-Nahv (Grammar, Etymology and Syntax)

A fairly large number of books on various subjects appear to have been in use in intellectual circles, some of them being probably included in the prevalent course of instructions as text books Panj Ganj, Mizan Kafia, and books of Masadir, Tasrif and Nahv, referred to, are still in use and we also find mention being made of Misbah Zubdah Lataif i Zamakhari, Zarir Aslub-i-Jawahir-i-Akhar, in the Risal. Some of the widely used works referred to are Maqamat-i-Hariri, Kalila Dimna, as translated by Bahar-i-Baghdadi, Mukhtasar (Ar-maani) Qasida-i-Sa-tibia, Mutawwal, Adab-ul Qazi Sharaf i-Adab (rhetoric and literature), Baizawi, Kashshaf of Zamakhari, Masharig-ul-Anwar, Masabih (Us-Sunnah), Tafsir-i-Zahid, Madarik (traditions and commentary), Hidaya, Faraiz-i-Hasami, Manar (Ul-Anwar) Muhit, Mabsut, Manzum, Kanz Tariqa-i-Nasafi, Fatawai-i-Seraji, Fatawa-i-Khani, Sharai (Ul-Islam), Jama-i-Saghir, Jama-i-Kabir, Bazdawi (Book of Imam), Hawi (Jurisprudence and principles of Islamic Law), Maqamat-i-Hamidi of Hamidani, Kashafu-ul Mahjub, Sulak-ul-Muridin (being version of Ghazzali, Ihaya-ul-Ulum by Majduddin Jarjani) Asrar-i-(Fakhruddin Razi, Bahrul Manni (philosophy and mysticism) Miftah ul-Ulum (Logic), Qanun Kitab-us Snata, Mujaz (Medicine) Other books referred to are Kitab-ul-Ghiyats, Akhbar-un-Nayyarain, Zakhira (I, 53, 55, 114, 119, 140; II 97, 196, IV 185, 195, 222, 242, 281, 284, 309, 317, 318 321, V)

That the State had some thing to do in encouraging and patronizing education is evident from the instructions issued to the Qazi of the metropolis The foundation of the Madrasas should be laid on gems and jewels of knowledge rather than stony walls, and students should be settled and sheltered so that they may do good deeds and become greedy of sciences (Ulum) instead of being apathetic towards learning and [illegible] (II 5) The ceremony of conferring academic distinction has been described as Shamla bandi for which we have got the term Dastar Bandi in Mulfu-literature (IV—195).

We get [illegible] idea about the dwelling place of a man of position like the author from a witty letter which he addressed to his friend, Tajuddin in which he describes the disasterous effects of heavy rains and storm "The roof was so badly leaking as if it was a sieve and so many

and described as 'Kuhl-al-Jawahir (collyrium or antimony in which gems along with other ingredients were reduced to a fine powder) and a book 'Maqtal-i-Hussain', which appears to have been the earliest of the Persian works in India on the tragedy of Karbala, now unfortunately lost. We find reference (IV-332), to 'Nau Roz' or New Year's day of the Persian Calender being that which was observed originally by the Magians when the sun enters the Aries and also to the Muslim festivals of Rabi I commemorating the birth and death of the prophet. He tells us about Id-ul-Fitr, the day of festivities following the one months' fast of Ramzan about Id-ul-Azha also called Id-ul-Qurban held in the commemoration of Abraham offering up his son, Ismail to God and about Shab-i-Barat the night of the 15th of the month of Shaban on which the Muslims made offerings and prayers in the name of the deceased persons. The night after 14 Shaban was also called Shab-i-Barat [illegible], viz. On the day of the first Id garments of three species of inner and sinken clothes (Qasababa) were worn, 'Hiwa-i-Shakar Pera', and white fine cakes (Ruqaq) were also taken on 'Shasba-i-Id' or the 6th day of the Id (I-198). There are short epistles or notes on Shabi-i-Siyam, Shabi-i-Qadr, the two Ids and Ashura (IV 324-25). The first is called 'Roz-i-Qismat o-Barakat (distribution of fortune and blessings). The pious and devout ones kept night vigil and spent the whole night in prayers. Innocent children played with fire works. The whole of the city became the garden of Khuli because of the light of the lamps resembling the flower of pomegranates and every one in the light of his own condition, sent a few lamps to the neighbouring mosque. The writer also wished to burn the lamp of light in his own house and enlighten it with prayers. In Ramzan, after breaking the fast "Zaubay-Nabat" the well known sweet Jilabi and 'Fuqqa' (a sweet beverage) were offered in trays. Hearing the 'Bang' (call) of the Muezzin they went to perform the special fast prayers called 'Tarawech'. On seeing the new moon they broke the fast and congregated to make and eat festivities. The Drum was beaten for three times and fine bread cake and Halwa were sent from house to house as presents. Rose water was sprinkled and fragrant perfumes were offered. On the occasion of the Id-ul Id, sheep and goat Qurbandan, were sacrificed.

There is much worth noticing about sweets and other articles of food [illegible] and costumes, utensils and furniture, housing arrangements, pastime and recreation, [illegible], social divisions, position of women, trade and professions, agricultural and industrial products, artisans and

sons, Ghayasuddin Ahmad,[4] Yaminuddin Mubarak, and Nuruddin Tayyab and entitled "Wa'az-o-Nasa'ih" (counsels and admonitions) deserves a separate treatment because of its importance

It would be interesting to know that Amir Khusrau, who is reputed for his contributions towards a common medium of communication and a common mixed culture gives very little in the Risail about language and literature of the indigenous Hindu population. Except a single Doha[5] which occurs at the end of one of the Risail of the Ms. copy O P L, Patna, there is no specimen, conversational or otherwise, of the vernacular or the regional language with which, however, he was not unfamiliar. Of course he has used some purely Hindi words several of which have, however, double meanings Some such words are 'Chuna', 'Supari', 'Nar Mar', 'Maash', 'Mung', 'Rui', 'Jaao', 'Ayee', 'Ayee' etc. We also get other Hindi words such as, 'Bira','Bar' (tree) 'Jolaba', 'Di Di', 'Nayaka','Tils', 'Piyaz', 'Vaid', 'Kulab', (potter) 'Deomandla', 'Nagbel', 'Chambertali' etc. He has given us much about Music not only in this book but also in 'Qiranus-Saadain' and other Masnavis; but it is the foreign rather the Indian system of music, musical instruments, musical melodies, and the musicians about which he writes Of course, in the Risail he has something to say about the 'Hindi Kalavatans' and the 'Hindi Saaz and Sur' or (instruments and melodic tones or tunes) but it is the 'Pardas and Maqamats' rather than the 'Raags and Ragnis' which find mention in his works He does not say anything about his own alleged contributions though he claimed proficiency in the art He refers to competitive contests between the Indian and foreign musicians, but there is nothing about Gopal Nak or Sitar or Seb-tar and the introduction of a common mixed Indo-Persian system of music known now as northern system of Hindustani music.

There is a frequent mention of the use of collyrium or antimony in the eyes specially on the Ashura or the 10th day of Muharram, and the observance of Rozai-l-Maryam or Saum-i-Maryam or Saum i-Samt which means the three day's fast in complete silence in the month of Rajab (I, 197, IV, 323). Amir Khusrau felt highly gratified on the receipt of such gifts from a Sayyad as a prayer book to be recited on the first ten days of Muharram, a 'Surma Daan' or box holding collyrium wrapped in paper,

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4 Partly considered in a paper still unpublished.

5 Perhaps it is an interpolation.

answer the question, "how things actually were," but, one can very well realise "the way things were looked at" by one of the great 13th century's intellectuals.

The book is impressive in size and also in source-contents, covering as it does practically every aspect of [illegible] cultural. It does not ignore even such apparently commonplace but still current practices as the following :—"Water mixed with milk was sold at the rate of milk" (IV-259), the vassalman who earns 100 Drhams every week, utters such while he is at work, was found pitched in the clothes of other people" (II-[illegible]), "the tumbu attendants of poor means [illegible] to the men of position and [illegible]" (II-25[illegible]), [illegible] behave [illegible] to take [illegible] from [illegible] which is due [illegible]" (IV-[illegible]), "they sang [illegible] to avert the [illegible] of evil eyes" (IV-[illegible]), [illegible] mentation they sing Hindu [illegible] sang [illegible] the hair of an old person" (II-250), "in India there is a custom that workers of spells and magic practise incantations with the help of a reed, and whosoever is struck with it becomes tractable and submissive" (IV-161), "the conjuror who swallows swords and daggers etc. . . ." (IV-261).

The main Persian text is interspersed with verses which have not their own significance. Some of the letters and pieces covering many pages are in Arabic. Some sections called 'Harf' are fairly long and self-contained, but most of the pieces are small and disjointed. Harf 1 of volume II concerned with the 'fundamentals' and the 'derivative principles of Music' covers 17 pages, and will be dealt with separately. It is followed by a discourse on the games of chess and backgammon (Nard). Hunting of birds[2] and beasts, fowls and tigers, form the subject of another section of volume II (60-63). The games of Polo and Kite-flying also find mention in more than one place. The interesting section on Tambul[3] or betels which spread over 19 pages of volume II has been already utilized elsewhere. An important section, Harf 3 of volume IV (256-330), which consists of three long letters, addressed to the author's

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1 Paper entitled "Amir Khusrau on Music in Risal-ul-Ijaz" at the Aligarh Session of All India Oriental Conference.

2 Dealt within a paper still unpublished

3 Vide the paper "Betel chewing among the early Muslims of India".

or a desire to demonstrate one's literary ability and accomplishments. They reflect more clearly and accurately the views and outlook, style and methods than the official writings and from their apparently crude stuffs there might possibly emerge a better and truer picture of contemporary human happenings.

An attempt was made in a paper contributed to the Ranchi Session of the Indian History Congress to throw some light on matters of historical interest found in Amir Khusrau's Risala i Ijaz-i-Khusrawi. The utility of the large and ponderous volumes (5 in number) on epistolography, written in a most eriudiloquent verbose style has been doubted by scholars but one interested in social history cannot afford to neglect the cultural parts and the glimpses of the social and religious life which form the core of the book but are lying hidden in involved style of words and phrases, puns and puzzles. Amir Khusrau was an eye-witness of the multitude of happenings of a varied character and had become fully acquainted with manners and morals of the men not only in his surroundings but also of those whom he came in contact with in different parts of the land during a fairly long period covered by the reigns of Sultans from Balban to Ghiyasuddin Tughlaq. He held strong views on ethical and religious aspects of life, and had a certain antipathy against those who led lives of heterodoxy, immorality and corruption. If one of the purposes of history is that it should not only be true to facts but also morally instructive, the first hand observations of Amir Khusrau about the men and matters of the time and his literary disclosures of their faults and merits cannot but attract our notice. His style is difficult and epigrammatic and his inventive genius enabled him to coin many facts and events and names of persons and places. This might make one think that there is not much of actual information and it is not safe to deduce things of social import from what was not real but imaginary. But many things about the mental aspirations, ideas and outlook of the educated classes, and the manners and customs and religious and economic conditions of the time about which political chronicles are generally silent come only within the purview of this type of literature which is free from all restraints and inhibitions. The contents of even the fictitious letters and other pieces, some of which are dated, are not absolutely devoid of value, meaning and substance. At any rate, they may be taken as the reflection of the attitude and outlook and expression of the varied and accumulated experiences of one who was himself a part of history. They may not enable one to

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[illegible]

or fairy before the husband, but to be bashful, modest and fearful and to be known and seen from behind the curtain mounted with the fringed of the veil.

Our author enjoins upon the wives to keep themselves within the limits of their homes and have watchful eyes on all the resources of their houses, have privacy with none except husband, even with brothers and nearest relations, remain engaged in their domestic duties rather than being busy with the combs and mirrors, treat the husband's face as the mirror, practise thrift, and make particles of gold and silver, earned by the husbands, into thousand, avoid being quarrelsome harsh tongued and short-tempered lest they might annoy the husbands, and drive away the domestic attendants, behave well towards the female servants, consider contentment as their ornaments if the husbands be poor and without means of subsistance, in short to cultivate such moral excellences as to make him feel proud of being the father of a daughter, hoping to be remembered as such, through her, after his death (M.A.).

from the pains of pregnancy and child birth she has undergone
ents for her offsprings a load or burden the least partake where I
will suffice to weigh down the scale of the Judgment Day. Even
if a sin offers [illegible] to her for carrying his burden and suckling
him during the period of [illegible] months he cannot render her all her
dues (*H. Ibid*, II, 164-165). The [illegible] sermons to his daughter
and to all the women. Sant Mastura in *Hasnt Bhaj* [illegible]
verses and *Mastana Anand* [illegible] verses would lead one to think
that the great poet was extremely orthodox and conservative in
his attitude towards the fair sex. In one of his verses he [illegible]
women are hard for his daughter, but he immediately adds, his
thanksgiving to God for the gift and says that his father has
also a mother, the latter was also a daughter. Messiah was born
without a father, but there was no case of any one being born
without a mother (H.B.)

Addressing his seven years old daughter, Mastura, he says
although your brothers, like you are of good stars (disposition)
they are not better than you in [illegible] (M.A.). When you cook,
[illegible] wedding and quite [illegible] weather, [illegible] the Sedan I would
wish you fast to be [illegible] and contented and then wedding. My
first counsel to you is that you should [illegible] with [illegible]
your devotion to God and [illegible] about the archetypal
worship, and your [illegible]. There is no [illegible] for you than
the [illegible] Seek good name and character. Though your [illegible]
hours by hours [illegible] and [illegible] be a friend to [illegible]
For a woman [illegible] and [illegible] fear and [illegible]. Even if you have enough [illegible]
[illegible] which [illegible] as
[illegible] the spinning wheel, and recite for these are the [illegible]
[illegible] the [illegible]. If you want to be at ease and free from [illegible]
[illegible] keep your face [illegible] the wall and have [illegible]
[illegible]. The [illegible] are applied [illegible]
[illegible] are [illegible]. The women who [illegible]
[illegible] the [illegible]. The [illegible] Bhai [illegible]
[illegible] and the women [illegible]
[illegible] extremely [illegible]
as virtual invitation to drunkenness. [illegible] the [illegible]
[illegible] the face. The [illegible] James [illegible]
[illegible] that to look like a bedecked idol

old and young are quickly struck by their hypnotic charms. Another strange thing is their claim that they can fly high in the air like birds, but this does not stand to reason. Again by virtue of their charms they claim that they do not get drowned in the encircling whirlpool. Even if you put them in a tight sack and throw it on the surface of the water they would swim across from one bank to another without being drowned. Another strange thing is their claim to withhold and let go rains and moisture from the clouds. They have got such a collyrium that if a person desires and applies it to his eyes he can make himself invisible. There are many such wonderous things which are reported about them, but which may be said to be beyond the capacity of everyone except the watchful protectors (spiritual men) of the time. One who has seen all these things may not deny them, but those who have not seen them cannot believe all of them. Though all these are charms and fancies, yet, there is something which may be taken to be really true and I would tell you that for your approval."

There are many appreciative verses of Amir Khusrau in *Nuh Sipihr* a command performance, about the fidelity of the Hindus male and female, to the object of their love and devotion. The dying of the Hindus for expressing their fidelity is a thing to be astonished at, their dying either by the stroke of the sword or burning in the cruel fire. (*Hast Ajab Murdan i Hindu Ba Wafa Mar Janash Ai Tegh Wa Ze Atash Ba Jafa*). The women burnt herself out of love for her husband and the man practised self destruction for his idol or for his lord and patron (*Zan Ze Pave, Mard Bava Zad Ba Hawa Mard Ze Barre Bat Ya Manmo-bas*). Although in Islam such things are not allowed, but see what great deeds these are. (*Garche Dar Islam Rawa Nist Chanin Lak Cin Bas Kar i Buzurg Ast be Bin*). If such kind of acts had been allowed by the Shariyat, many virtuous people would have gladly sacrificed their lives for the sake of their love and devotion. (*Gar ba Shariat Bawad In Nau Rawa Jan Bedehand Ba Sidaq ba Hawa*).

Amir Khusrau's conception of womanhood as a mother, daughter, and wife, and his ideas of the correct role of women in society, her interests and activities, deserve more than a passing notice. He says that "the mother is the origin of the [illegible] of God", and "the paradise is under her feet". The rights accruing

a [illegible]ets of strategems they sometimes showed themselves as fa[illegible]es and sometimes as devils'

More [illegible]teresting is the [illegible]ersified account of the spells and [illegible]chantat[illegible]ns f[illegible]nd in *Nah S[illegible]phr*. "Many wo[illegible]derous things have appeared in this land the l[illegible]e of which has not been mentioned [illegible] any other country. If I happen to desc[illegible]be most of them [illegible] would become as long as a tale and, therefore, I am re[illegible]ting [illegible] a few of them. Firstly, w[illegible]hin this area, the enchanters bring a dead man back to life by their magical charms. This statement requires [illegible]ln[illegible]ation. I am giving a hint to those wh[illegible] wo[illegible] [illegible] person bitten by a snake who does not rise [illegible] the time [illegible] brought back to life after six months. In order to learn the art one has to proceed to the East by way of water as swiftly as the lightning. When he reaches the borders of Kamrup, the master magician turns him into an animal. The other thing is that the Brahmans treasure the powers of enchantment in their hearts and if they exercise their spell on a freshly killed person the latter becomes alive provided he has not been removed away. If he is asked about the future events he may tell that if they are not terrified. So long as his tongue remains intact he is capable of speech, but when it is destroyed we should not expect any speech from him. Another wonderful thing is that either by a true method or any pretexts and pretences they prolong the life which is on prone to decay. This is achieved in this way, that since the number of breaths of every man for each day is fixed by calculation, one who accustoms himself to the taking care in holding the breath prolongs his life when he takes less number of breaths each day. The [illegible] practising restraints of breath [illegible] the [illegible] remains alive for [illegible] years. Another [illegible] that by their artful regulation of some breathings [illegible] the [illegible] of the [illegible]. [illegible] art of assuming the [illegible] [illegible]. Again by practising [illegible] they remove the blood from the body and infuse it into [illegible]. It is also a strange thing that both

and magic) and Chashmbandi (tricks that deceived the eyes) which the Gabrs (infidels) practised so as to draw a veil over peoples eyes have been referred to in the K F also (63-64) In his masnavi of *Laila Majnun* the Amir refers to the conjuration (Shubada) or sleight of hand of the dagger-swallowing man (Khanjar-asham) and one who inflicts wounds on his arms and sides for the sake of his belly (Bazu ze paye shikam kunad resh)

In his masnavi named *Aina-i-Sikandari* Amir Khusrau has referred to some of the typical customs and manners of the Hindus 'out of sheer foolishness the common Hindus drink water out of hands of their palms in spite of the fact that they had a hundred earthern pots with them (p 32) From the red colour of the twilight the mountain peak looked like the forehead of the elephant which had been besmeared with vermilion When the snake charmer catches a snake, he nourishes such a bloody reptile with milk (53-54) When I slightly removed the veil from the side of the ear I caused the cap to fall down on the head and the head from the shoulder, (this refers to the new bride's Anchal affair when she moves a little the border or hem at the end of the veil She covered her rosy face under 'Marjar' (a cloth worn by women to preserve their headdress from being soiled by unguent or pomatum of their hair) and thus shaded closed the eyes of the evil wisher and prevented him from seeing her

Here are a few lines from *Ashiqa* about the conjurors and acrobats and their juggling or sleight of hands "They were so dexterous in their use of swords that they could split a hair into two halves like a young hero With the dagger, clean and pure as the wing or the feather of the flies, they cut the flying flies into two without making any boast of it The rope-dancer played on the top of the ropes just as the hearts are constrained by curling locks He was not only exhibiting his feat by twisting his body round the rope but was rather playing with the thread of his life With his dexterous hands he threw the ball high in the sky and with it went the galloping stead round the circular disc The conjuror swallowed the sword like water as if he was drinking water as a syrup He let the sharp pointed spear penetrate his throat through his nose just as one takes water into his mouth [illegible] The child warriors exhibited their feet by jumping to and fro on the running horses like flowers borne on the wings of the wind [illegible] The masqueraders exhibited their skill in different [illegible]

call[illegible] the faithful to prayer (IV 81). Like the Hindu a Muslim woman [illegible] before her husband was decorated with vermilion paste [illegible] applied to her [illegible] kanandi. Festivals and festivities have also come in the picture. Such were the occasions of Nauroz (New years day according to Persian calendar on which the Sun enters Aries), the two Eids, Shab-barat (14th or night of the 15th of Sha'ban involving nocturnal vigil, making of offerings and oblation to the departed souls, display of lamps and general illumination and fire works played by children), Laylat-ul-qadr (27th of Ramzan, when the Quran is said to have descended from heaven), [illegible] (the night of Prophet Muhammad's ascent to heaven). When Amir Khusrau invited his mystic friends to attend a Qawwali get-together, some thrown in a state of ecstacy danced, that is rotated on their toes (pa-kofand) their hips being in motion (Kaghal jufaha shud), while some clapped their hands (dast zefand). Ashura (the 10th of Muharram when the orthodox Sunnis kept whole day fast, applied collyrium to the eyes, and also read out from the book Maqtal-i-Husain which dealt with the tragedy of Karbala). On the occasion of Id-ul-Fitr, which marked the breaking of the Ramzan fasts after the visibility of the moon, Dalia, Nan, Halwa and Zarda-pulao were sent out in big trays (tabak) to the houses of friends and the vessel with rose-water (gulabdan) was in frequent use. Id was announced by the beating of the drum nine times.

There are references also to some common place but still current practices. Water mixed up with milk was sold at the rate of milk (IV 250), gold-smiths while pretending to purify gold use Suhaga (borax) and [illegible] the washerman who earns 100 rupees every week [illegible] while he is at work is found garbed in the clothes of other people (III-117), the tumbal attendants of poor men offer a few betels to the men of position and expect to be tipped (II-257), it does not behove one to take account from sneezing which is due to cold (IV 86), they have a black raven in a glass cover on a newly built house to avert [illegible] and [illegible] of evil eyes (IV 87), among the [illegible] people [illegible] they sing [illegible] (II-250), [illegible] music practise [illegible] with the help of [illegible] [illegible] (IV 26). African spells

(IV 1 4) and also into the thatched houses of the poor people (Mal[illegible]) covered with thorns (Khaspo.h) which cannot prevent the [illegible] of pearl-like drops (of rains) nor the penetration of sun's rays and particles of dust through its holes (II 18). On the other hand he takes us into the high roofed two storied houses of the upper class people which had vaulted halls (Sufa-i-taq), pool of water (Hauz Khana), bath room or privy (Ab-Khana), library (Kitab Khana), courtyard (Sahan) threshold (Dahliz), [illegible] (Riwaq) with lofty pillars painted walls and high doorways (V 57 61 V 87 89). In *Nuh Sipihr*, Amir Khusrau tells us about a poor helpless Hindu (Hindu-i Miskin), who works himself to death, on account of the tyranny of the Khuta (Kharad Az Khuta Khan). He tells us about the drunkard Suh (Suh-i-Qallash), who goes into the tavern, and also the pious mystic of pure character (Suh-i ba safa), who has become extremely popular due to his character.

The *Nuh-Sipihr* again tells us of the Indian dancing girls, with their forehead decorated with sandals and jewels, the parting of their hair being filled with pearls and diamond pendants, wearing a nose ornament and clad in the Devagiri garment. At the end of the fifth of the *Risala* there is a satirical reference to some bad type of the women of the south. One is the Didi Miskin of Devagiri who made her black face white by coming out of the flour mill to cast glamorous side glances on people, and the other was Uchhaldi, the mistress of a brothel and a typical representative of Nayakans of India. She and her followers always looked youthful amongst men, her ears were like water-drawing buckets hanging down in wells, and her lips were like rain-[illegible]es of a drain. On one side of her nose a pearl was suspended from the nostril, while on the other the snot (neta) having frozen on [illegible] out of cold breeze looked like a hanging pearl. Her nose [illegible] her much too self-conscious.

Birth of a male child was welcomed with festivities and [illegible] (V 5 [illegible]). Father or guardian arranged the marriage of [illegible] daughters and sometimes the hands of a grown up [illegible] for [illegible] by the suitors (V 215). Rich presents [illegible] by friends and relations to the married couple (V 241 24[illegible]), a professional people called Murda Khwan recited the Quranic suras specially of Yasin over the dying and the dead (IV 394a). The public crier put his fingers in his ears while

[illegible] tunics and [illegible] had disappeared (R II [illegible]). [illegible] the roots of all impurities lust and [illegible] were [illegible] the daughter of grape and the [illegible] and the [illegible] with their [illegible] of their ears and [illegible] were [illegible] and became veiled. This [illegible] by [illegible] highways [illegible] robbers, [illegible] were head up from the [illegible] the earth and were [illegible]. The [illegible] who praised [illegible] and caused a [illegible] being buried [illegible] the threat [illegible]. Last in the list [illegible] the heinous [illegible] of incestuous misdeeds. [illegible] who had secret nocturnal assemblies wherein a mother cohabited with her son, the aunt with her sister's son, the father with his [illegible] the brother with the sister. These [illegible] wretches were [illegible] to [illegible] the saw of [illegible] being drawn over their heads. **(K F text. pp 18-21)**

He [illegible] writes about Sunnis and Pikas Sufis [illegible] Christians Mulhids, Muhammadans and Kafirs [illegible] atheists and [illegible] Muslims. At one place he writes: If in this age the Kafirs (Non-believers) were [illegible] the rights, the pure Sunnis ought to remind [illegible] the [illegible] on earth. (K F [illegible]). He refers in derisive terms to the [illegible] Hindusan, the [illegible] severely depicted. At [illegible] Mahmud had and [illegible] who were [illegible] the [illegible] Tartar peel [illegible] Mongols the Tartars, [illegible] Arabs, Chinese and [illegible] on the hand the [illegible] Tartar [illegible] Arab [illegible] and Tartar [illegible] Tartar Qizil Arslan the [illegible] and [illegible] Hasan [illegible] and [illegible] (R I [illegible])

Amir Khusrau gives us a peep into the 'Dark corners' (Zawaya). [illegible] Bedchambers which have neither fire in the day nor the light of the lamp in the night

others, and keeps the grain stored in the granary of the Judgment Day. The real benefactors will never allow their labours to go in vain. In the same piece we are told about a Navisinda-i Hindu (Hindu clerk or accountant) whose two-faced reed pen (Qalam-i-Juftawan-Kah) which being wielded to keep an account of produce (Hirz Challa) becomes as important as the corn itself for it splits under the disposition (affects the mental equilibrium) of the poor peasants just as the plough does in the case of the cultivated field, and his tongue serves the purpose of a sickle (badis) of the field which splits and removes everything that comes in the way (this shows that in making the entries of the produce the petty Hindu official acted dishonestly and he was so sharp-tongued as to summarily dispose of all complaints, just as the sickle removes all that comes in the way (R I IV 64-65).

The Amir's observations on the ways of the sots and drunkards, Rabis (usurers), Rashis (bribers), Zanis (adulterers) "who are alike in form and spirit" and also Muhtakiran (hoarders and profiteers) show that such vices were widely prevalent in his time. Wine drinking, though strictly prohibited by Islam, had become a habit with the people, and even some men included in his religious groups had become addicted to it. We are told of a drunkard Mu-ezzin who entered the magnificent mosque of Qazi Imran in a state of intoxication and the smell of liquor coming out of his mouth defiled the pillars and rafters of the mosque which had been made of sweet-scented sandal and aloe wood (R I IV-175). Some recluses joined the Sultan in secret drinking party and some Ulemas poured liquor in the same bosom in which the Quran was treasured" (*Matla-ul-Anwar*, Chap 11). Of the trinity of joy, wine, women and music, all of which form important themes in the *Risal*, the first and the third have been accorded separate sections (II 267-275 and 275-291) which is also the case with the following discourses on Nard and Shatranj (games of backgammon and chess (II 291-298) which are also noticed in *Khazain-ul-Futuh* (pp 42-43). In the account of wine bibing the author who was himself a teetotaller gives an indirect hint to Alau'd-Din's prohibition of the drinking and sale of wine. But by the vicissitudes of the revolving sky, the big wine jars became small (were broken) [illegible] the spiders had woven their webs on the doors and walls of the tavern [illegible] the fellow drunkards who were the chief [illegible] return of [illegible] Nagl [illegible]

Sandal and many other perfumes. They had Gulala (locks of hair hanging loose), Jaad (ringlets of curly locks). The male Sveds had also double Jaad and men used Masma (dye made of leaves of wood or indigo).

We get some interesting observations in *Risala* (IV-856) on different kinds of cloth: Jama, Yak Shuqqadar, Muma (The garments with fissures or crevices which wards off a whole hill of snow), Yaktai Bahraman (red coloured upper garment without lining which is very delicate like water and covers the beautiful ones upto the neck), Yaktai Hir, (silken) which on account of its bright wave and fineness resembles the rays of the sun, Yaktai Chambartari, which had the quality of covering the defects (of poverty and misery), but had a defect of its own in that its wearer remained naked inspite of putting it on, the Yaktai Parran, a green, thin and delicate garment like the feather of the fly, the Devagri garments, white and fine like the spider's web, Yaktai-Awadhi which had become sugar-coloured and stained on account of moisture, the jama (garment) of the special wardrobe is harsher (more coarse) than mean-minded ones which the slave, asked to use as a paetaba, kicked off with his legs, Kalam Rus which general Abak Tatar sent was harsher than the temperament of the Russians and was narrower than the eyes of the people of Khata (China). The *Yakravi Narma Latif* resembling the skin of the snake had been set as a memento and in lieu of that the green Maqna like Jama-Chuk (like green scum or kawer) has been received. The Dastar, as thin as water, Kulah Chihar Taranji, the rose coloured Yaktai Gamari, a piece of rose cloth, Katani which on account of its being excessively cool is ever in tremor, and a piece of Jar Mazit and one Mitar, Mashari (turban or sir), made in Malabar or Madura from which water easily came out, and Yaktai Zabadi have also been referred to (I-177-8).

The *Risala* tells us about different kinds of people good or bad. For example we are told about Kurbawarziyan, Mazan [illegible] the [illegible] of [illegible] Kurbawarziyan [illegible] the [illegible] like [illegible] from the [illegible] and break the [illegible] parched earth, irrigate it with their own hands, and when the seed, [illegible] the earth, [illegible] and [illegible] up with [illegible] the [illegible] he gives his respect [illegible] the [illegible] of Shah [illegible] where [illegible] remains [illegible] from the straw provides food for [illegible]

also refers to the varieties of cloth from 'Kirpas' to 'Harir' which cover the nakedness of body, from 'Bihari' to 'Gali Baqli' which are used both in summer and winter, from 'shirt or under garments to Gilim (blanket of goat's hair) which differ greatly in their hair from 'Jaz to 'Khaz' which are similarly engraved or painted from Devagiri to Mahadeonagiri which are a ferement both to the body and the mind" (page 25)

The types and modes of dress have also been referred to Such were the large turbans (Dastar) and Amimama worn by Ulemas and religious groups on the head over a [illegible] called Kalleep called Kulah and, consequently they were called Dastarbandan, Mutammamah, and Kulahdaran In *R and I* we get that the big turban folded like a coiled serpent was made of such fine and light stuff that a hundred yards of this cloth could be wrapped round the head and yet the hair underneath was visible The other clothes they used were Pairahan, Qaba (sleeved close-fitting jacket or coat open in front), Aba (a kind of coat or cloak), Jubba (a species of upper coat, resembling a skirt) Rida (mantle), Saravil (a sort of drawer or trouser like Pae-Jamah, Shalwar (baggy trouser), Lungi (narrow strip of cloth passed round the waist and thigh), Barani (a cloth for keeping off rains) Dotai (a kind of double cloth) The sufis and durveshes were clad in Khirqa-i hazar-Mekhi (the mendicant's habit made of numerous patches), Kulah-i Chinar Taranji or Chinar Taraki (four cornered cap), Kafsh (shoe, sandal or slipper), Nalain (a pair of shoes of a particular kind with wooden soles), Lubacha or Lubada and Chadar as, also Moza, and sandals were of different types we find mention being made of Kafsh i Yaky Mekhi (a [illegible] hooks) Kafsh i Zardozi (embroidered) and Kafshak Hirani used by men of affluence) The garments of women consisted of [illegible] veil hanging over the face), Maqna (a veil worn [illegible] head), Darraiah (tunic upper garment with buttons and [illegible] Pai[illegible] (shawl or trouser), Chadar (scarf) Qash (a women [illegible] Izar or Kurtak (drawer) Parshan (loose or close[illegible] from the neck to the navel) Reshabah i Damani worn [illegible] (with [illegible]) Sanjchi i Zarin (sina posh or breast [illegible] Chilbaro (neck cloth) Chirin Baf (a piece of cloth [illegible] kind of texture Izar and Fido were worn by both men and women They parted their hair just in the middle of the head i.e. a track was made just in the centre of the head (*Rah-ha ar tarq-i-rast rast karde and*) R I-1-21) They used also cosmetics like Ghaza, Gulgona,

"Mad ba Qaiunqur o bughra makun Shuka-i Tutmajit Ighra Makun".

Our author has [illegible] as much about the second most essential need of man, that is clothes and apparels. They were of various stuffs or texture silken [illegible] woollen, linen, embroidered, painted and of gold work. There are many references in different places of his various works to Khaz, coarse kind of silken cloth; Ichha, brocade; Hariri, silken cloth; Zarbaft, cloth of gold; Zardozi, embroidered cloth; Mukhmal, velvet; Aks, steel colour, [illegible] to be black; Mashajar, a kind of [illegible] brocade; [illegible] Dayba, a kind of [illegible] stuff, also a coarse darewish garment painted and embroidered; Katan, a kind of linen cloth and to be rent by the exposure to the moonlight; Kirpas, a kind of long cotton cloth, also fine linen or muslin; Parnian, a kind of fine painted silk from China; Aksun, a rich black-coloured silken cloth worn by princes or boastful people, also a species of brocade. Amir Khusrau is very lavish in his praises of the cloths of Devagiri and Bihar, and Oudh specially the first. It is interesting to see what he says about Bihar, or Rupaki Bihari and Devagiri cloth. He writes under Jamal Devagiri in his diwan called *Nihayatul Kamal* (page 52).

"How can I describe adequately the fine quality of the cloths. Had it not been for the hard-hearted planet Mars who have skinned the moon and brought it to the end of the month (what the poet means to say is that the Devagiri cloth is so fine and thin that if the moon is covered of its skin and thinness it would not be thinner than that). Even a hundred yards of such a fine cloth can be made to pass through the eye of the needle and yet it is such fine and strong texture that the point of the steel needle cannot pierce it without difficulty. It may be said to compare favourably with the drops of water as if the drops trickle down [illegible] from the streamlets of the sun. Even [illegible] the poet thought that it looks as if [illegible] at all he has covered the body [illegible]. The [illegible] which [illegible] are not fine were drawn. Owing to the extreme [illegible] hundred yards can easily be [illegible] which do not suffer in the least therefrom. Neither water nor the sun or pointed needle can pierce or penetrate through it like drops of water. *Khazainul Futuh*

drinking and their hearts and soul had got nourishment from the delicious delicacies, a few topmen stood up and uncovered in the name of each one present, a tray of Fuqqa (a kind of drink made of water and barley and of dried grapes, something like beer). Its strong effervessence went to the body and unloosened hundreds of knots of life's thread. When the provisions and the accessories were removed from the dinner table, the turn came for serving betel leaves among the men of the assembly.'

This is followed by more than a dozen lines in praise of betel leaves. Amir Khusrau has made frequent mention of Pan which was invariably offered to the guests, specially at the end of the dinner, in his various works. This was the practice of his maternal grandfather, an Indian Muslim whose "rang i-qirgan" (dark as pitch) glittering in sun's glare pleased the child Khusrau so much while he was perched on his shoulder. The long discourse in Volume II of the *Risal* in which we find 42 virtues mentioned as against 43 demerits of betels and betel chewing, has already been published elsewhere. The *Risal'I*, contains references to many articles of food such as Kabab (meat cut in small pieces and roasted with onion and eggs and stuck on skewer), Zaliba i Nabat (IV-325 our Jalaibi), Sirka (vinegar), Jughrat (curds (IV-51), Gurda i Paneer (cake of cheese), Paludah (Paluda a kind of flummery or Sweetmeat II-177-517), Murabba (I-169, a preserve or confection), Sikbat or Sikbati (I-612, a dish made of meat wheat flour and vinegar), Khushka (I-23 boiled rice). Shakkar Pach (I-196, a kind of sweetmeat made of rice or wheat and sugar, also paper to wrap with sugar in), Ruqiq (IV-325, thin cakes), Tutmaj (thin slices of pastry or vermicelli), Lauzina (a kind of sweetmeat in which almond is mixed up also almond shaped confection IV-15), Sharabi i Asir, (grape wine) and Sharabi i Naishkar (wine manufactured out of sugarcane IV-53), Sikanjabin (I-23, lime-juice or other acid mixed with honey or sugar), Ghilahakkari (I-60, a kind of sweetmeat made of rice and sugar, something like Gulqand), a Qaisuqar (a kind of syrup of birds), Baghra (a kind of dish with dressed paste of macaroni or a worm shaped white paste called vermicelli or *Sewain* invented by King Baghra Khan) and Sharba Pulao (or dish made up of rice, spices, butter, flesh or fowl) have been also referred to in *Matla-ul-Anwar* (Chap. II).

dishes which were served on the table. The Nan (bread) was [illegible] like the circular disc of the sun. The nan-tunuk (thin nan bread like chapati) was so crystal clear that one's face could be seen through it. I should describe it as the disc of the moon rather than a bread. It was worth of Jesus spread it on the table. The nan-tunuk of Turkish or Mongol variety was puffed up like a dome because of the joy felt at being included among the royal dishes. This was the season when kak (biscuit or rusk bread) became tasty and palatable. The sambusa is kind of small pastry of minced meat of a triangular form [illegible] a delicacy because of the three elements combined by it. Ahmad Abdul Saad Kangarlu. The [illegible] biryani (fried and roasted rice) exceeded the disc of the sun (refers to circular mutton chops). The kaliya (curry) the meat prepared out of the rib of the goat, it was placed at the top of the pelaw (a dish composed of meat and rice combined and cooked with butter, spices and honey). It refer to stew or abeesht or yakhni of biryani. The meat pieces cut out from the [illegible] of skinned goat looked like so many crescents. Surprisingly enough thirty first crescents (Ghurra) came out! [illegible] disc of the new moon (Sa'akh skinned or flayed). The fat of the [illegible] tail of dumba (a kind of sheep) weighed two maund, [illegible] more delicious than that of abu-barra (lawn). The head [illegible] intact with teeth exposed and excited the [illegible] at the table were cooked but intact but [illegible] more [illegible]. The body dumba of which [illegible] was brought had been reared and nourished for [illegible] had come out on its head. Hundreds of [illegible] of food cooked in the cauldron [illegible] were placed on the table and people partook of them [illegible] lips and fingers. A large variety of [illegible] fowl such as wari (quail), tihu (a bird [illegible] partridge), [illegible] (black partridge), [illegible] of sweet whose flesh is tender and delicate [illegible]. There were trays of [illegible] made of flour [illegible] of the dishes of [illegible] of [illegible] as [illegible] as good [illegible] kinds [illegible] were served [illegible] meat up with the cauldron. [illegible] when their palates had partaken of their shares of eating and

and cultural pattern and performances as to display the writer's literary skill and accomplishments and to cater to the tastes and the needs of the time. The poets are generally in the habit of exaggerating things, and one should not expect their works to be marked by moderation and balance. Amir Khusrau was not an exception. He has gone to the absurd length in the later portions of the fifth *Risal* of his *Ijaz* in his highly obscene remarks, which cannot be put before the modern readers. Social standards of beliefs and practices, manners and morals are not necessarily the same among the different people and at different times. It is not safe to judge the past from the present. But even this part about episodes and persons concerned, is not altogether worthless for unfortunately Barni and others support him in some respects.

Though much that Amir Khusrau, who has been not unjustly styled as "the social historian" of the 13th century, has left to us in his numerous works, specially his masnavis and *Risal ul Ijaz* which is an interesting heritage as well as an example of the author's literary accomplishment, compels attention, we have to be very cautious and careful in clearing the grain from the husk. There are difficulties, and much painstaking effort is needed to tap the sources still wrapped up in Persian garb. We can confine ourselves in this short paper only to certain aspects and past conditions of society by way of examples, and draw the attention of the readers to what our author says about diet and drink, cloths and costumes, beliefs and practices, other than religious, and above all the various categories of people as to how they lived, thought and behaved, and what their good and bad points were.

In Qiranu's-Sadain, while dealing with that which pertained to royalty and not to ordinary social life he writes about food and table manners of Sultan Kaiqubad. After referring to the large (thousand) varieties of menus and dishes, sent in 9 tripod trays from the royal kitchen to the table, he writes about the nature and orders of the viands as follows:

"Hundred of cups of sweet vegetable juice, tasteful and nourishing as the water of life, were first taken round, and placed before the companions whose liquor saturated palates were thus washed off by Jilab (purge of water and sugar). By taking the lip-sticking sherbat (syrup) broken (languishing) spirits were reunited and set right. After this course the turn came of the

[illegible] of [illegible] Mazdaran [illegible] Dihqanan [illegible] [illegible] (Qabat-ul-Ashraf) or town men, Sanatkaran [illegible] were Hindus and Mahgiran (hermits) and Mazdaran [illegible] have been definitely described as Hindus. Some of them were good and lived by their honest and industrious labour while others were definitely bad and dishonest. A [illegible] man and a mystic self himself the Amir did not spare the [illegible] hypocrites among them and he considered the laity to be a hundred times better than the priestly class". He writes in *Matla-ul-Anwar* (Chapter VI)

> *Hast Biare Sabz-Pashmina posh-kas na rasad*
> *[illegible] Mazdaran ba [illegible] In hama*
> *[illegible] in parast Barhamanand but-e*
> *Zarrin ba dast*

On the other hand, about low class wage earners he writes appreciatively that they pour the sweat of their brow to earn their lawful food, they work with their hands, night and day, and go to the length of making holes, with their teeth, in the leather to serve mankind. He has very good words to say about the tailors and the cobblers who were more hard working and straight forward in their dealings than others specially goldsmiths. The Amir writes frequently about the weavers who were simpletons but honest and [illegible]. We are told how they worked, at what they worked, their tools and apparatus and the services they rendered to society.

The characters portrayed and the situations depicted appear to be mostly imaginary, fabulous and overdrawn, yet the portraiture and the descriptions comprising the illustrative [illegible] here may be taken to represent some real personalities, a [illegible] as seen and found at the time in [illegible] the [illegible] eyes of the acute writer. Even the [illegible] drawn by the Amir and his pen-drawings are very [illegible] and [illegible]. Literature is the imperishable [illegible] of the [illegible] that prevailed, and [illegible] it [illegible]. It gives us a glimpse into the [illegible] of the time and therefore [illegible] evolution.

[illegible] based on [illegible] and scattered references is not [illegible] but is also [illegible] misleading. [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

verbose contents and the ornate and occasionally over-dramatised picture of life and conditions from birth to death, about food and drink, cloths and costumes, manners and customs, festivities and festivals, social behaviour, family life, arts and crafts, games and music, hunting excursion, agriculture, irrigation, pastime and amusements, virtues and vices of society etc. may be taken as a fairly understandable delineation of what had existed or had been seen or thought about by our author. Those who have read Amir Khusrau's works in the original will not question the considered view of late lamented Dr. Ashraf that he was "pre-eminently a historian of contemporary social life" (*Life and Conditions in Medieval India*).

To reconstruct life lived and to form a consolidated picture of society as it existed in such a distant age from isolated and disjointed fragments and incidental allusions to contemporary men and events, scattered in books composed in high flown language and style, is neither easy nor a satisfactory task. It is difficult to get a full and vivid picture of contemporary life. But one need not be unduly sceptical about all that he says, specially what he writes in the *Risal'l*, about a variety of people such as the turbaned Ulemas, saintly and imposter Sufi mystics, quarrelling jurists, the Syeds with double locks of hair, slaves of both sexes and of different extractions, with characteristic names, artisans, and various functional groups, corrupt officials, dishonest merchants, shop-keepers (baqqal, or bazarganan), carpenters, blacksmiths, goldsmiths, money changers (sarraf), oil pressers (tauchi-gran), black marketeers, hoarders (muhtakiran), singers, dancers (pakoban), courtesans (tawaif, ruspiyan), musicians, acrobats, jugglers, conjurors (mushabbid, bazigar, gadan, ghazan, rasan bazan), (rope dancer), maqamiran (gamblers), but in all his works except *Nuh Sipihr* it is Muslim rather than Hindu society, more of the urban areas than of the countryside which attracted his attention most. There are only a few Hindu names in the *Risal'l* such as Satnpal Zargar (jeweller), Nepal Khuta (tax gatherer), Nirmal Raughangaghar (oil man), Deo Chand Deh (Muqaddam, village water or secretary) as compared with a plethora of Muslim names of Jolha (weaver), Tanadah (spinner), Bazzaz (cloth merchant), Challa Farohan (grain merchants), Khuyya' (tailor), Darzi (tailor), Ahangar (ironsmith), Zirahgar (armour maker), Kamangar (bow-maker), Rumgar (metal worker), Muziyyan or Hajjam (barber), Zarkoban (gold beaters), etc. Of course, the

[illegible] was above his [illegible] to talk as detached a view about men [illegible] and [illegible] rich and poor, nobles and [illegible] [illegible] and [illegible] of [illegible] [illegible] his material and [illegible] [illegible] he becomes [illegible] with the result [illegible] his literary devices and mazes of words and expressions

Whatever may be said about the political facts dealt with, and there may here and there be some omissions but not [illegible] but there is no lack of [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] human [illegible] [illegible] with a [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] the third chapter of this book. [illegible] the particular fervour of the first page [illegible] It is [illegible] to read the following

[illegible] Kaman [illegible] Sab ba [illegible] [illegible] Zeabi Kamus [illegible] Sab Gnoti [illegible] [illegible] Kings [illegible] Gaz [illegible] And yet [illegible] [illegible] Qamus Arabia to dared"

[illegible] Hind [illegible] of peasant who passes his right [illegible] the [illegible] sky, and the Brahman [illegible] [illegible] of the [illegible] [illegible] with [illegible] [illegible] The Brahman is such an embodiment of [illegible] he [illegible] tear to pieces [illegible] the records and books of Aristotle

[illegible]

[illegible] Mu[illegible] [illegible] he [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] interested in social and [illegible] history What emerges after a careful sifting of the

Khusrau's Works As Sources of Social History

Some works of Amir Khusrau like *Khazain-ul Futuh* which is in prose, and 5 out of 10 mashnavis, namely *Qirana-s Sadain*, *Miftah-ul Futuh* or *Tarikh-ul Alai*, *Nuh-Sipihr* and *Tughlaqnama* have been included among the many different types and classes of historical literature. His *Kulliat*, the 4 diwans and the *Khamsa Mashnavis*, and specially his stupendous epistolary and rhetorical work, *Risail-ul-Iaz* are purely literary works and *Afzal-ul Fawaid*, contains the table talks of his spiritual guide, Hazrat Nizamuddin Auliya but these are also not absolutely devoid of suggestive references and allusions of some historical and cultural interests.

Scant attention has been given to *Risail* which though verbose and full of verbal gymnastics and literary acrobatics bear some genuine documents and have a wide range and variety of details bearing on law and exegis, grammar, lexicography, tradition, morality etc., and also many things of historical value concerning social psychologoy, life and conditions of the period. It may, however, be argued that the work is diverting rather than authoritative since it is often difficult to distinguish between the fictitious and the imaginary and the actual, the historian would naturally like to have concrete facts.

Judged by the modern ideas on history as an objective study Amir Khusrau may not be taken seriously by historical specialists. History with him was contemporary history. He had little or no spell of the past, and he was largely concerned with the experiences and observations of his own generation. Of course being highly connected, deeply learned, moving freely in all circles, not only in the imperial metropolis but in the different parts of northern and peninsular India this celebrated poet and prolific writer had excellent opportunities of seeing and judging things for himself. He never professed himself to be a historian but gloried in being essentially an Indian and called himself the "Parrot of India". He had no religious narrowness or social and even racial prejudices

better than the [illegible] expression amounted to a vow of [illegible] in a vessel of water that water could [illegible] the [illegible] while the poisonous feather the [illegible] was [illegible] had been immersed [illegible] where the water [illegible] which a *Nazbath* (a poisonous bird) [illegible] could be used for abortion [illegible] makes a fun of the long-haired [illegible] who practiced [illegible] and [illegible] moves and so on, and [illegible] the question [illegible] It [illegible] were engaged in [illegible] problems of [illegible] and metaphysics. He writes "O people of religion and law, bad in disposition and bad mannered and by forbearance what is the sense in wrangling over prayer when the time of prayer itself is missed?" He writes, "there is no wisdom in that earning which represents and attempts to illustrate the heart in a way. May that man of earning perish who collects his earning by stealing it with envy and malice and harm to the creature of God. Verily, of such persons what to [illegible] meanings by attempting to make it fruitful by loud voice."

The *Pandnama* or the letter of admonition forms a very interesting reading for the writer who throws much sidelights on his own disgusting experiences and he admits his own disillusionments. He tells us about the widely prevalent sins and corruption. 'Hazar rukzamin sail-e-fasad grafta ast ke the world is flooded with depravity and wickedness. The satanic people with their [illegible] was had to be shunned, cruelty, selfishness, lust, [illegible] negligence and lethargy which were among the besetting sins, had to be kept away from, liberality should be shown even to strangers for even a silly ass is generous to his wife and family, royal favours which shed lustre but took away dignity should not be sought for, craft which was a magnet attracting lawful means of subsistence towards itself, had to be resorted to and the indignity of stretching out one's hands in supplication which was beggary, should be realised. The sweat on the silver-like forehead of the man who worked hard for lawful aims, was an alchemy. The Amir writes appreciatively of the weaver's craft and cobbler's profession and that they do for their lawful earning by dint of their hard labour. The *Kisanwarz* (peasant or cultivator) plying his pair of ploughs in the field cutting up the parched earth then irrigating it with their pearl like sweats which trickle down from their foreheads all the time, are at last rewarded with crops to which they apply their crescent-like sickle, and after cleaning the grains from the straw store it in the granary for the judgment day.

There is another aspect which may deserve cursory glance. The age in which Amir Khusrau lived was an age of moral depravity, brutality and idle talks. The atmosphere appears to have been surcharged with corruption and also full of debates on the tenets of 'Fiqh' and 'Hadith'. Amir Khusrau writes contemptuously about such people as [illegible] who rambled in form and deed and were the greatest among the [illegible]. He also [illegible] pedantic *[illegible] bahsis* [illegible] scholars who indulged in problems [illegible] such [illegible] questions [illegible] whether a man could use the lavatory [illegible] whether it was allowed for [illegible] the banks of the rivers to perform *tayammum* or *Wuzu* with sand instead of water, whether when a man said to his wife that she was to

collection of five treatises on Arabic grammar, *Sarf* [illegible] and *Mantiq*, the seeker received higher degrees of instruction in Madrasa of [illegible] on their knees, [illegible] believe earned lectures in various branches of knowledge such as *Hadith* [illegible] Berelvi [illegible] Imam Razi [illegible] the [illegible] traditions [illegible] commentaries [illegible] *Hikmat* (Philosophy), Mathematics and Astronomy [illegible] speculative science [illegible] astronomy, *Ilm* [illegible] etc. Thus [illegible] the expression [illegible] and [illegible] reached [illegible] we get reference to a large number of books of [illegible] tradition, law, [illegible] scholasticism, mysticism etc. which may have been studied in major fields of studies. Such are *Mawaqif* [illegible] *Ahmad Qadari*, *Zadiyat*, *Muqaddimah Hasan*, *Bazgawi*, *Jamal-Sughir* wa *Kabir* [illegible] *Mufassal*, *Fawaid-i Siyari*, *Mahmud-Ebni*, *Imam Imam*, *Ahmad-ul-Mutajib*, *Sulaiman-i-Muridin* and the other books of Ghazali, Maududdin Jajarmi, *Zamakhsari* etc. There is no reliable evidence on the [illegible] any degree conferred, but we get [illegible] the ceremonial of tying a turban round the head of the [illegible] on the shoulder or wrapped about the head [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

even the pen was in mourning. A certain extract is well worth transcribing. "The beneficiary prayer offered throughout these ten days has been received and the same time *Kuhl-ul-Jawahir* collyrium mixed with ground pearls, placed in the special antimony box and folded within paper has been delivered to this sincere one. My pupil of the eye accepted it and it was applied to the black part of the eye. There was the book entitled *Mazar-ul-Husain* which I had been sent for. Because of the dust of the ground of that martyrdom which serves as an antimony for the penetrating sight of the true believers, that book had become so torn to pieces as you would say that in lamenting the fate of the Prophet's family members the garment got torn and was affected, and its leaves had become highly disordered as if you would think that it had been struck at Karbala by a stormy wind." There is reference also to the distribution of alms and charities among the poor and the destitute beggars.

Although Amir Khusrau says that what emerged from his pen in the *Risaal* should be taked as his *tasawwurat-e-zehni* or mental reflections, worth correction or refutation. The literary glimpses of social and religious life that we get are not a mere fanciful for many of the social customs that he depicts are not very different from those of today. Take the case of education which played a very important role in the social set-up of medieval India. The ceremony of initiating a Muslim child in the duty of reading and writing started with *Bismillah* and *Sura-i-Fatiha*. The child commenced learning to read by reciting in the name of God and this was an occasion of social festivity. Letters of the Arabic alphabets were written on *takhtah* (a school boy's written wooden board) and the boy was made to put his fingers in each letter and spell them correctly. Later on the sounds of vowels and consonants first separated and then combined were taught and care was taken to ensure correct pronunciation. Repetition of lessons (*takrar-i-sabaq*) according to necessity in loud voice was a must to fix them in the memory. The boy was taught prayers and benedictions (*tasbih* and *durud*). Some were made to be memorizers (*Hafiz*) and correct readers (*Qari*) of the Quran (*Mushaf*). Passing through the elementary stage of private schools (*maktab*), and rising above the level of *Panj-ganj* (a

fasts when lips and mouths are completely sealed in respect of food and drink. The fast of *ita* (continuous fasting for 7 days observed by Sufi mystics) was observed. The 19th and the 27th of Ramazan was treated as Lailat-ul-Qadr or Shab-i-Qadr (when Quran descended from Heaven). The *tarawih* an extra prayer and recitation with recital of the Quran was observed in the mosques and the fast was broken at evening with such kinds of drinks as lemonade of water and sugar and plates of rajgira and sweets named *alibo-i-nabat* (Jilebi), *lozina* (a confection of almonds).

Next is the reference to the two 'Ids' Id-ul-Fitr or the festival of breaking the one month fast of Ramazan on the first of Shawwal and Id-i-Azha or Id-i-Qurban, the sacrifice festival, held in commemoration of Abraham offering up his son, Ismail, on the 10th of Zilhija, the last Arabian month. The former was marked with great pomp and festivities, children were decorated and dressed with clothes of *hazir* (silken garments), people ran to the *Idgah* to offer the *dugana* (two genuflexions in prayer). There was, to the sound of the drums nine times announcing the happy termination of the fast. Bread and halwa placed on trays were sent as presents from house to house. The *Gulabdan* vessel for rose water was in constant use and so was the sprinkling of perfumes. The devout observed also fasts of Shawwal six days fast after Id. As regards the festival of sacrifice an ox or sheep or camel was sacrificed in discharge of a vow and the pilgrims at Mecca performed the rites of *Ihram* or the rite of pilgrimage in a special dress and halted at Arafat (a sacred hill 12 miles from Mecca). As regards Id-i-Azha our author refers to the sacrificial *Qurbani* which means a sheep, a ram and a goat, at time to the offer of the Idgah prayer and also to the rite (of turning the face towards and saying 'Takbir' i.e. Allah Akbar).

The first ten days of the Arabic month Muharram are held sacred in consequence of the martyrdom of Husain, son of Ali and Fatima at Karbala on the orders of Yazid. The tenth of the month is called *Ashura* which is the day of the culmination of the Muharram festival. Amir Khusrau describes the ten days and *Ashura* as the days of the slaughter of Husain for which

organization. For the Hindus the tradition had been built up of festivals for religious and commemorative purposes and the exact time and mode of conducting them had been fixed. They served as occasions of trade, amusements and recreation and display of devotional sentiments. The influence of festivals on social life and family relations of the Hindus was great. Somewhat different was the case of those of the Muslims. Amir Khusrau has written in his own way about all the important Muslim festivals such as Id ul-Fitr, Id ul-Zoha, Shab-barat, Muharram, Ashura, Nauroz, Prophet's anniversary, Lailat-ul-Qadr. Nobody knows the exact date of the birth, more specially of the death, of the Prophet of Islam. But people had taken that to have happened during the first 12 days of the month of Rabi I. This has been rhetorically referred to:

روز وفات بود قبله و بعده نیز با پاید .

The letter *ha-i-hawwaz*, 27th of the Arabic alphabet counts five reckoning by *abjad*. Adding it before and after *ba*, the second letter of Arabic which counts two, we get 12 when Fatiha prayer is offered to the Prophet.

The 14th day of the month of Shaban and the night preceeding the 15th is generally called Shab-i-Barat which is appropriated to the commemoration of the dead ancestors and saintly personages. On this occasion the Muslims make offerings and oblation to the departed. It was as it is even now, believed that the Divine Predestinator apportions or bestows what is necessary for the support of life on the 14th. Referring to it Amir Khusrau writes "Communication or assignement of various kinds occurred on the night along with exemptions and immunity". He describes the night as 'Lail-i-mubarak barat', 'Roz-i-qismat-i-mubarak', referring to the observance of manifold prayers and night vigils and refers also about the illumination and fire play of the children. The present children indulged freely in the play with fire and in the wonderful fire works and the whole town looked carnation coloured or deep red like bright coloured red rose. He adds that every one, according to his means, sent lamps to the mosques for illumination. (*Rasa'il II*, p. 326) Then comes the month of Ramazan

matrimony deserves in the opinion of the man, three divorces. But although a man may be water and fire (tears of grief and anger) the woman will have an upper hand because of the weapon of the paper she has in hand (i.e. Mehr or the marriage portion settled upon the wife before marriage). It serves as a chain binding the neck and the throat. But *mehr* (kindness) may become a bond of affection if between the two there is nothing [illegible] for a woman's affection (mehr) for man is far better than matrimony (mehr) but for man mehr (fondness) for woman is far worse than mehr or the bridal gift (fondness would lead to submissiveness and the peace of life would disappear). In these literary figures we get indication of polygamy, widow remarriage, termagant woman, docile husband, divorce and more specially dowry which sometimes served as a deterrant to a rapacious husband. Perhaps Amir Khusrau disfavoured marriage with widows for he writes

آنکه ریکه پیوسته را بی خواهد در خانه او خاسته بی باشد .

One who takes a widow as his wife in the household everything will be as desired and wanted by the woman.

Leaving aside the rhetorical parts some facts dealing with or reflecting social life of the time can be easily drawn. But as the writer is not writing for the historians, references to social customs and manners are scattered, disconnected and scanty and even after a careful analysis there are difficulties in getting a full picture. The descriptions of contemporary societies are often of imaginary societies and necessarily coloured. But if we do not stick close to the textual representation, with all their [illegible] taken the reference and [illegible] we be found to be very useful for constructing the life of the past.

Let us consider what Amir Khusrau says about festivals and festivities [illegible] whether we get a picture which was as true of contemporary life as it is of the present. Muslim festivals as compared with those of the Hindus are fewest and are not so closely inter-woven with religious worship and social

paraphernalia of marriage portion, rich ornaments studded with jewels and precious stones for head, neck, forefingers and feet have been referred to (*Rasa'il* II p 120)

Some were happy marriages, there being complete identity of views and sentiments, but sometimes, conjugal relations became loose and the relations between the couple became strained, largely due to the fault of the wife. The wife of Najibuddin was very harsh-tempered To add to matters the father, Khwaja Sadr, was also of hot and sour temperament and he made the situation for his son-in-law so hard as to compel him to flee to his uncle for protection. Fortunately, the venerable aunt of the bride with rosary in hand intervened and expostulated with her brother "Your son-in-law stands in a position of your son, and it is not advisable to cause separation of the wife from your virtual son." She cited the examples of 'Ayisha and Fatima, the prophet's wife and daughter respectively, from whom the lessons had to be learnt. We get in the *Rasa'il* an imaginary account of two beautiful, wealthy grown up, highly chaste girls whose wealth attracted a greedy man who was bent on using force to have them Fortunately they enjoyed the fatherly patronage of Khwaja Aziz who saved the situation and one of the two girls was given in marriage to his adopted son named Jauhar who was born of a chief (mentarzada) but was a writer by profession (*Rasa'il II, p 60*).

While offering his hearty congratulation on the marriage of a certain couple the writer warns the husband against subjecting his will to that of his wife for yielding and submission might turn ease and comfort into pain and affliction When one allowed one's hand to be clenched with that of the wife like henna it would not be strange if one's hand became bloodstained If an old man gave ear to and submitted to the sermons of the woman, the man would turn into man Let not the arus or bride become the Shah or a king

Incompatibility, infertility or other things led to separation of the couple by means of divorce A man possessing two bags of dirham one who has two wives) is in the view of the woman a double shelled dice, and a woman who has entered twice into

[illegible] and offerings of presents also took place. [illegible] very fond of his mother, speaks highly about her and even in advanced age used to sit at her feet. He writes much about the duties of the sons or daughters to their parents, speaks [illegible] mother at whose feet are the paradise, and whose services could never be required adequately in present life. Yet [illegible] to [illegible] the dead of privacy and seclusion. He always uses the word [illegible] *Maddarat* which means a [illegible] as [illegible] the veil of chastity, true to the marriage [illegible] and [illegible] when [illegible] and [illegible] to be kept [illegible] behind the curtain. They were [illegible] their own properties, besides the irrevocable claim of [illegible] from husband, an essential element in marriage, but they were looked down upon as of the inferior position and subordinate to man. Some of Amir Khusrau's dictum says

عروسی را که پس عریان نهان کند بجنس خاصیت ست .

The bride who keeps her face concealed behind the sleeve does not require sifting. And yet like many the birth of a male child was more welcome to him than that of a daughter. In *Hasht Behisht* addressing his seven years old daughter he wrote: "I wold to heaven that you could have come out of the mother's womb as the child of eight months who would do not survive. But immediately after turning his [illegible] such an obvious meaning he writes. But as [illegible] is the [illegible] right and proper and it [illegible] with those who have been the [illegible] of God I have accepted, whatever he Lord Almighty has bestowed upon me. [illegible] has come from His door. He [illegible]

father, as has been proved by the birth of Messiah from the virgin Maryam, but without a mother of happy existence nobody speaks of any one to have been born."

Amir Khusrau was a wealthy personage, but he exhorted his daughter never to give up her work at the spinning wheel, never to indulge in peeping from behind the door or the curtain, or cast her looks in different directions, never to forsake the women's spindle (*dukkan*) and the needle (*suzan*), never to neglect the use of veil or concealing sheet of cloth and to always keep her face towards the wall and her back towards the door. According to him, "the woman who walks or runs in streets is not a woman but a bitch." He did not like woman's excessive fondness for embellishment of her body and much too adorning of the face for that might cause mischief, disgrace and ignominy. Also in his view "when the expenses of the wife exceeded those of the husband, the affairs of the household would become topsy-turvy.

Marriage as expressed by the terms *Kabin* (matrimony), *Nikah* as a social institution, and polygamy, keeping and purchasing slave girls, and divorce as prevailing social customs have been frequently alluded to in rhetorical language. The hand of a grown up girl was sought by suitors, sometimes by themselves, but more usually on their behalf by their parents. It, however, depended on the father to give consent to the marriage after consulting his relations. Bakhtiyar Amjad offered himself in marriage and gave an account of his high social status and also the wealth and prosperity that the family had once possessed, but the circumstances had changed for the worse. He had, however, many personal qualifications (*Rasa'il* V, p 314). On the occasion of the marriage the usual Quranic verse beginning with "fankehu wanu" (perform Nikah) was recited and among the rites *Julwa* the meeting of the bride and the bridegroom in the presence of the relatives, and showing the face of one to the other through mirror and scattering and throwing about money and flowers and *Kaunin*, have been alluded to. There are frequent references to *Julwa* in the *Rasa'il* but [illegible] and *Dewal Devi Khizr Khan* to some of the marriage rites and ceremonies, ornamentations by the bride, *mushshata* (bride's dresser), *takht-i-arusi* (bridal throne), *hajla* (the bridal bed with mirror and ornament)

consolidated picture of the society as it existed in such a distant age [illegible] based on isolated and detailed fragmentary passages inside a [illegible] and references to men and events [illegible] castes and others [illegible] people with their habits and [illegible] have been referred to, showed that we get [illegible] at the end. If the [illegible] of the [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

There is an interesting sentence, "Musha bid or the juggler or the conjurer (Hindi nat) swallows swords and daggers so that, through those wound inflicting implements, he may have a share in ease and comfort" There is a suggestive verse as

حوبه ازین شوم که نند سایه شیں رفت فرو تا کمر اندر زمیں

The weaver hushed lest the shadow of disgrace should fall upon him and therefore, descended upto his loins into the ground' This refers to the weaver's shop or loom or *kargah* which has a hollow in the ground in which his feet play (work) moving from side to side or in and out.

Some terms and words convey something pertaining to the society such as *masura* or the reed used by weavers to wind their thread upon, *nushra-i-tiflan* i e. anything including amulet or charm for children to drive away evils Another word is *mimal* or the beam or wooden stick of weaver's loom on which he rolls, twists and turns the cloth

کسی نداند که کسوت بخت بچه سوال بافته شود .

"Nobody knows how the frame or texture of his fate would be twisted and woven" Many tit bits indicative, to some extent, of the atmosphere of the age can be found in the *Rasa'il* In India a usage has developed that the conjurors practise their charms or incantation with the help of their reed Whomsoever he strikes with it becomes docile and submissive We get an interesting reference to the taken from a her 'Diwan-i-Charmin"

[illegible] of by the enforced command of the [illegible] has been now current

Only those who are prone to [illegible] sided and unhistorical [illegible] that Amir Khusrau was an advocate of equality and [illegible] he was entirely free [illegible] attitude Though it is not quite [illegible] judgment about the life and paint a

while they were at work, earned hundred dirhams a week but freely donned the garb of their events.

History is not a matter of imagination but of observations and [illegible] References [illegible] direct or indirect. [illegible] evidences [illegible] by literary sources may be sometimes [illegible] leads and [illegible] to be misinterpreted and yet they cannot be ignored altogether. [illegible] and references in the texts even [illegible] have some essential historical value. The [illegible] may [illegible] evidences. A few [illegible] [illegible] events who frequently brought these goods from the side of Gujarat were once carrying the load of these silvery pursent commodity and were passing through the jungle. They were suddenly attacked by some armed horsemen who were the Rawats of [illegible] just when they were resting around a very old well. One of the tambolis drew out his 'khands' for self-defence but this provoked the assailants all the more who killed him along with a large number of his fellow people. Only a few survivors came to [illegible] the complaint before [illegible]. A similar plunder occurred when a caravan laden with such commodities as cloves and saffron (?) was proceeding from Bihar towards Agra and was passing through a Mango grove known as Chandnath Sumbul Bihar was told that the wasile of Hindustan was filled with the fragrance of aloe-wood emitting from the perfumed mausoleum of the martyred saint at Bahraich and it behoved him and the members of his fraternity assemblies to have [illegible] the art of [illegible] and the beauty of the pleasantness of life at Khanzahar Kalabagh where [illegible] at [illegible] and, for Raihan [illegible] [illegible] the scheme and became so [illegible] and powerful that he [illegible] that he would destroy Sumbul root branch. We know that Sayyid Masud Ghazi [illegible] as a warrior saint [illegible] Sayyid Mahmud [illegible] fought [illegible] [illegible] at Bahraich [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] His [illegible] [illegible] at Bahraich [illegible] [illegible] and [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] Masud [illegible] before his overthrow and death at the hands of Mina Sahu it

'On sneezing one should say praise be to God so that the heaviness or contraction may disappear.'

هرکه او را دید چشم بکشاید مگر در روی خاص وعام.

On seeing the new moon one does not open one's eyes except to gaze first at the face of people high or low.'

رسم چنان بود که هرکه تقصیر میکرد او را در صف نعال کنند

'It is the custom that one who committed a fault or sin was made to stand in the place where shoes and slippers are left before being finally disposed of.'

In *Aina-i-Sikandari* and also in the *Rasail* the poet laughs at some typical manners and customs of the Hindus.

بسی ابله هندوان کلال بدست آب نوشند باصد سفال

'Because of sheer foolishness the Hindu potters drink water out of their palms inspite of the fact that they have hundreds of earthen pots besides them.'

Elsewhere he writes when the snake charmer catches a snake he (foolishly) nourishes such a bloody thing with milk. He refers in many places to the cow-herds who, though they carried their animals to houses managed to mix water with milk and charged the price at the rate of milk. We are told about the tailor whose double tongued scissors inflicted injuries on something not belonging to him, and at the same time who shamelessly tore out a piece or patch for his own private use. Interestingly enough Amir Khusrau is favoured the manufacturing of arms and weapons of war or these implements inflicted injuries on the body of human beings. He also disapproved the profession of a goldsmith who pretended that the scum or dross of gold was purified by heating it with *nafshir* (borax or Hanuts magazi) but he actually managed to steal bits of gold. He ridiculed the washermen who attered at at

هفت و نهش کرده چو ماه تمام خلود کسم در حجر خاص و عام

Seven plus nine' or sixteen refers here to 'Solah Singar' or the sixteen ways female adornments or ornaments of the Hindu ladies. The same thing has been referred to in a line addressed to the poet's daughter Mastura in the line

چون شدی بهر هفت و نه در رنج [illegible]

'If you feel grieved for lack of seven and nine', the current coin of chastity will fail 'in sixes and fives (distress)' The references are to the articles of the ladies' toilet, dress and ornamentation, henna, *wanna* (wand), *surma* (collyrium), *surkhi* (red colour), *ghaza* (face-rouge), *sufeda* (white paint), *ghunghat* (veil), *sarpancha* (head-dress or veil), *gaukhura* (ear-ring), *sikla* (chain), *halqa-i bini* (nose-ring), *galuband* (necklace), *bazuband* (armlet), *dastana* (bracelet), *khalkhal* (ankle-ornament), *anguthra* (ring), etc.

محدرات موی رفوق راست راست کرده

The veiled ladies divided their hair in a straight line at the top of their heads, this is called in Hindi *mang*

چون از بن کل مولد گشت صبح احمدی در کیس بانگ نماز داد .

Here is a reference to God, the omnipotent Lord and Creator and [illegible] verse. Be and it was or [illegible] and [illegible] to be [illegible] of sounding the call to prayers in the ears of the new-born child

چون عصمه رید الحمد لله گوید با سنگی بر صرف سر

of such puzzling amphibolous words and expressions. In connection with the description of betel leaf he uses the words *Warak-i-Kafuri* which means both a white paper and also a *Kafuri* or *Kapuri Pan*. The expression 'Barin Muhimm-i-buzurg birah ftad', 'birah' means betel leaf made up, and if read as *berah* it means in Persian deviation from the right path. Then there is "pishi an jan-separi kunad" which in Persian means resigning one's life into that of another, while *Supari* is the Hindi betel nut. We get also the use of Nura (quick lime) and chuna which in Persian is *ahak* or lime and it also can be read as Chunna that is how like that. There is a sentence with "Mung Jung Maash Maash" which if read in Persian, indicates multiplicity, while the Hindi Mung and Maash are vetches.

There is a line in *Rasail*

حولاهه و تنده هر دو همکار اند و عکس یکدیگر

There is a pun in *jo-lah*, the latter meaning a kind of red silken stuff. The weaver and the spider have been likened with each other as the former weaves cloths of cotton and linen for garments and robes and the latter weaves a cobweb. In both cases the warp is rolled round and carried over the comb or the stick respectively.

As a court poet Amir Khusrau was mainly concerned with the affairs of the elite of the court circles but his word-pictures give sufficient indication of his interest in the social life of the common people and his keen sense of observation enabling him to depict the views, feelings as also the habits and external practices of the masses. In the *Khazain* he writes

سگر که چند جانهای دیوان هندو در غبار لشکر پادشاه گرد باد شده اند۔

Behold the spirit of so many Hindu demons which are revolving in the whirl wind of dust shooting up from the ground of the royal camp'. Many still believe in gobling or spirits called *deo-bhoot* which haunt and lurk in what is called *bagula* in Hindi and *gird-bad* in Persian. In *Matla-ul-Anwar* we get a line

رسیدی بدیدی مرا دی بخانی رمانی بباشی بیاری بشانی

The first means you came yesterday saw me in the house, if you have a little you will be deserving a friendship. In Arabic it would mean you are my guide and my match capable of salvation, the third [illegible] I feel doubtful for my women are quarrelling. More important however are such lines in the preface of Ghurratu Kamal and in other works which show the Amir's mastery over the Indian languages.

آئی آئی همان سیاری آئی ماری ماری براه موری سائی

There is another elsewhere.

گفتم صبا سهای ربعت چه بود آوار برآورد که در در موئی

The last words are significant meaning either that each hair is worth that portion of what is the sense in Hindi begone you rogue! The word *Jaghra* in *Qurrat-ul-Sadain* and many places in the *Rasail* has been used in double sense, *Jawahir* meaning jewelry or *Jau* meaning barley and *Hari*, that is piety. In the line

داریم آرزو که حکایت کنیم بات

the last word is Hindi which may also be read as *pat* meaning leaf or calf. In Persian it may stand for Bat or Pashto. There is a couplet:

هر برهمن که دید رخ خوب ای صنم

زنار را گسست و بکند ره بروی لات

Lat in Persian means kick and so is *lat* in Hindi but the latter also means an idol worshipped by the pagan Arabs of Mecca. The *Risail* furnishes numerous examples

been strained and torn off. A Muslim pilgrim to Mecca met him on the way and questioned him about his strange affair of crawling and wounding his body when he could easily walk on his feet and reach his destination safely and in a shorter space of time. The Hindu ascetic replied that he had dedicated his life to the god of Somnath which was the object of his worship. At this the author remarks that one instead of derisding this attitude, should appreciate the [illegible] of devotion and [illegible] to the object of worship shown by the Hindu. He exhorts his fellow people and co-religionists to appreciate the spirit of self-sacrifice and imbibe such feelings.

I have already written elsewhere about different classes of people, good and bad, high and low, their essential needs of food and drink, cloths and garments, dwelling places both forts mansions, thatched houses and leaking huts with holes for sunrise and rain water to get in and also separate papers containing Amir's observations on the principle and practice of music listing more than two scores of merits and demerits each side, of betel leaves Pan, hunting excursions with animals and [illegible] hunt, and have published a fairly big paper containing gleanings about social and economic aspects from the works of the Amir. The pen-drawings of Amir Khusrau in his poetical works or in *Rasail-ul-I jaz* which, in size form and contents are quite different from his other works and are replete with multityped figures of speech, have also get their importance for besides showing his extra-ordinary power of inventing new literary devices they are helpful for a correct appraisal of his contribution to Hindi. His suggestive allusions to the manners and habits of the people in his time are no less interesting. He gratified the tastes and desires of his contemporaries by providing literary food to them through his ample [illegible] or *nam* in which his [illegible] and [illegible] are to be read both in Arabic and Persian or Persian and Hindi. There are his anagrams or *mu'ammas* of various types [illegible] on many things. Such acrostic verses or sayings [illegible] the Amir calls *S [illegible] and B [illegible]*. One is called [illegible] *ruba* which is read in different ways. A certain P[illegible] may be turned into Arabic when entirely different meaning can be read.

be astonished at. A love-stricken Hindu woman was unique in that she dashed herself to death like the moths at the candle.

چون بت هندو کسی در عشق دیوانه نیست

سوختن بر شمع مردن کار هر پروانه نیست

همت عجب مردی شنو و به وفا مردن ز تیغ و در آتش نه جفا

He admired the dying rather by the sword or by burning in the cruel fire of men and women. The woman burnt herself due to love for her husband and the man practised self-distinction for the king whom he worshipped as his lord and patron.

Although in Islam such things are not allowed, but see what great deeds these do:

گر نه شریعت بود این نوع روا حال ندهند این صحابت به هوا

If [illegible] had been allowed by the Shariat [illegible] people who have really sacrificed their lives for the sake of the object of their love and devotion.

Be [illegible] are found also in [illegible] the [illegible] are told about a [illegible] spirit of devotion [illegible] the sun [illegible] make particular [illegible] behaviour used to be [illegible] but the question [illegible] a [illegible] the [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

was meant for the Muslim readers. They are said to have been in comparable ring dove and turtle doves (fakhta and qumri) quite distinguished from the black crows (Zaghan Savah ru) characterised by darkness of unbelief and infidelity with hearts full of black holes of errors and sins. Throughout the bulky volume one comes across of only 6 or 7 names of the Hindus. Bichand, the crow faced, Saunpal, the zargar or goldsmith, Narayan raughingar or oil presser, Nepal Khata, Deochand etc., All other names of different sections and of sexes and racial extractions are those of Muslim society. Amir Khusrau writes derisively and sarcastically about many of them also, but he showered choicest condemning epithets on the people of the major community.

We cannot miss the marked contrast in the writing and feelings of the great patriot and the first national poet of India. There are not factual evidences of many things recorded in the *Rasa il* but what we find in the work leads one to think that the Amir had not got out of the rut and risen above the level of men imbued with false sense of superiority and resembling the narrow minded Mullas and conservative and even reactionary theologians of the time, despite his deep devotion and sincere attachment to the renowned Chisht. Saint, Hazrat Nizamuddin Aulia Mahbub-u-Ilahi who was an embodiment of large-hearted liberalism and catholicism. The Amir, sometimes, fails to furnish proofs of his broad-minded views of toleration. The credit that is given to him for initiating and releasing the sympathising forces, liquidating barriers, social, religious, racial and linguistic, and making the development of the common cultural phases and outlook a reality, will require more cogent, authentic and specific proofs, than what we get in the *Rasa'il* which catered to the tastes, desires and tendencies of his Muslim fellow people.

The Hindus very often extorted the admiration of the Amir. This we find mostly in his Masnavis. In *Nuh Sepihr* he writes about the remarkable fidelity of the Hindu males and females to their object of love and devotion and incidentally he tells us of the age-old socio-religious customs which formed a confirmed feature of India. The dying of the Hindus for expressing their fidelity and sincerity was not an uncommon affair and such as to

pen that as long as I do not pat it at its back with my hand, there is no playing to and fro and that as far as the sword was concerned I had no hand over it in any way."

In the long account of this *Ma'rakat-Saif-o-Qalam* there are other things which can be peeped through the figures of speech. Being touched and inflamed by the orator-reproofs of the sword, the pen became highly infuriated and began to emit the blackish smoke of its heart's core like the reed pipe flutes. It said: "Oh you who are like a dog of Hindu *Hindu Qarachul* and have become a prestige and pashing in the hands of the Hindus, being deeply immersed like the Brahmans in the Bands (Veds) you are slumbering as a faithless one (bedin) within the scabbard with your bodies smeared with ashes like the idol worshippers of Benares, and you consider that to be the purification of your soul. You call yourself a Mehrabi (the curved or arched blade of the scimeter resembling the arches of mosques) and bring on the question of woollen garb and the shearing of the pain of the head."

One feels tempted to compare what Amir Khusrau writes in his Masnavis or *Qiranus Sa'dain*, *'Ishqia*, and particularly *Nuh Sepuhr* with what one finds in *Miftah*, *Khazain*, and much more in *Rasa'il*. One can understand and also make some allowance for what the Amir writes about *Hindwanis* proud of impure faith and *Dancaik* (Delhi) in *Miftah* and *Khazain* for they deal with wars and campaigns against the infidels, but it would not be so easy to explain the highly derisive language used in the *Rasa'il* which does not deal with campaigns and conquest in a country dominated in number by the unbelievers. It does not look well for the great patriot and sincere lover of India which he took to be a paradise on earth, to refer to it as an abode of darkness *Zulmat-Hindustan*, and to the Indians as men of bad faith *bad kish*, crow faced (*kaghrul*) with hearts as black as [illegible] (*zangar gun*). The [illegible] was not written with an eye to the good will of men like [illegible] and more specially of the renegade Hasan Khusrau and the latter's relations and fellow people of Bradu [illegible] of Gujarat. This work, consists in style overburdened with a [illegible] of figurative language, and of artificially constructed words and expressions conveying far-fetched double meanings

and their religious philosophy and culture had good deal of justification for his enthusiasm and pride in being a Hindustani and the patriot of India had to thank his Indian rather his Turkish ancestors. Though he often accompanied the army while it was on the march or active in the field and he writes much about wars and armament, strategy, organization, implements, equipment and weapons of various kinds, he never gave evidence of his warlike propensities and martial pursuits for which the Turks have been world famous. Neither he nor anyone of his contemporaries or even any later writer has given the least indication or reference that he wielded his sword, grappled with his enemies and shed their blood. He used his pen and not the sword against the Mongols who had taken him along with his friend, Hasan Sajaz the Sa'di of India, as their captive, and dragged them for miles and miles together by tying them with ropes to their horses. Hasan never wrote a word about it but Amir Khusrau chastised them by satirizing the barbarian hords who wore baggy cotton cloaks and caps of sheepskin, had extravagantly long moustacheo and scanty goat beards and their bodies were covered with lice and they devoured dogs and pigs with their nasty teeth in their foul emitthing mouths. He was conscious of his weak point. In *Ghurrat-ul-Kamal* Khusrau compares Poetry with Music and gives reasons for his preference to the former. In the fifth of his *Rasa'it* a considerable portion has been devoted to a dialogic contest between pen and sword with the scale being made eventually to weigh heavily against the latter. A portion of the concluding extracts shows the Amir's self confession. In this contest the pen was at its best in giving lucid exposition of its view point and the sword was manoeuvring to take the offensive and rebut all the propositions and arguments of the pen. Suddenly the pen tipped its point in the inkstand, and the sword getting its opportunity turned its face towards me and said, 'Oh Khusrau, you are a Turk and a gem of the sword. Come and support me by lending me your helping hand for my strength lies in the strength of the arms of the Turks.' I replied that I was indeed a Turk but only in physical terms that my affair could not be well-settled (regulated) without the aid of the

هست بکی این زمین از دور و نزدیک هست مرا هر ... و زمین و زمین

and [illegible] that according to the savings of the Prophet of Islam [illegible] Iran articles of faith

و این زرسون آمده تای زمره دین حب وطن هست ایمان به یقین

He never went outside India which was regarded by him as a paradise on earth

کشور هند است بهشتی به زمین

He admired the simple living and high thinking of the Indians specially the learned class of the Brahmans who though scantily dressed when performing his ritualistic ablution in cool water at dawn carried such a great store of learning in his breast that he would tear to pieces all the canonical works of Aristotle

برهمن هست که در علم و خرد دفتر قانون ارسطو بدرد

His highly eulogistic descriptions of India and the Indians had some solid foundations. For example though somewhat exaggerated his references to the skill possessed by the Indians in producing very high order of textile fabrics and the garments made out of thereto are supported by other evidences

جامهٔ هندی که بدانید نام کرنگی نی سماند تمام
مانده پیچیده به ناخن نهان مار کشمیر پوشد جهان

And much that he writes about the peculiar features and contributions of the Indians their store of knowledge and learning

racial extraction, Turks and Hindustani. He refers to his father, Amir Saifuddin Mahmud Shamsi, an immigrant Turk of Lachin tribe, who died fighting in an Indian battle when his son was yet within his teens. He writes much about his maternal grandfather, a converted high caste Hindu, perhaps a Rawat or Rajput who held the important office of *Arz-i-Mamalik* and *Rawat-i-Arz* or defence minister for a long time under such a powerful sovereign as Balban who had a very poor opinion of low class people. The heritage of Amir Khusrau from his Indian born mother and grandfather was greater than that from his paternal side. He admits that he was the offspring of a mixed parentage. He writes

ز نسل عارض اسود منم آن نسخت معنی
کز اهل خویشتن یك یك نشانی باز دادم من
سوادی بود از بازکشی دیباچهٔ دولت
ز نوك کلك تقدیر و بیان آن سوادم من
حسان را من کنم عرفه کهر را من کنم احرا
از آن ابر سیه بین طرفه دریائی که زادم من

Describing himself as 'turfa darya' or the wonderful stream and his maternal grandfather as *Abr-e-Seyah* or black cloud, he tells us that he not only belonged genealogically to that black complexioned *Rawat-i-Arz* but owed much to him for his teaching and education, and it was he who inspired him to cultivate his mind and acquire his varied and manysided accomplishments. The sharp and penetrating intellect and the skill to manipulate words and expressions in a variety of ways, were the legacies and an inheritance of his Indian parentage. Besides his intellectual brilliance, his amalgamating and progressive tendencies, his patriotism, intense love for the country of his birth, and his admiration for the contribution made to the world of learning and culture by the Indians can be easily explained. He was quite sincere when he assured his critics that his preferences to India were due mainly to two factors, first that it was the land of his birth,

country. For [illegible] his notions and sentiments to suit the prevailing atmosphere the poet was rewarded with an elephant load of wealth.

Quite on the other hand is the poetical work *Nuh Sepihr* was the [illegible] the chronicle work the *Rasul*, in which the Amir has written his literary masterpiece. The work treats many of the people of different types and may be taken to serve better the purpose of those who are interested in social history. It was not a [illegible] poetical work, were [illegible] and mostly per was meant to serve the purposes of propaganda. Except the high pitched laudatory epithets lavishly showered, not without some justification on Sultan Alauddin Khalji, but quite undeservedly on such a man of vile and worthless character as his son and successor Qutbuddin Mubarak Khalji, who has been affectionately designated as "Hami Hamatul-Islam Wal Muslimin" and made to resemble the first of the orthodox caliphs who succeeded the Prophet and the second caliph well known for his justice (Adil Umar) was brought back after 700 years he writes. There is little or nothing in this work to challenge the credibility of the author or to ascribe any mundane motive to him. The varied contents of this work marked by a profusion of figures of speech various specimens of verbal quibbles puns and puzzles, and various kinds of literary devices so being the invention of the writer may be confusing to a modernist and are not easily intelligible to an ordinary reader of an average capacity. But they have at the same time that they have a great relevance to the spirit of the time and the tastes of the people. Amir's literary efforts in this work relate to the people and represent the pastimes of their social life and cultural forms of activities [illegible] of the [illegible] of various classes of people mostly of Muslim [illegible] professions and of the urban areas.

Amir Khusrau [illegible] the pioneer and also an experimenter in [illegible] of literary art which was [illegible] popularity [illegible] the [illegible] of the [illegible] writers who are self-revealing and self-expressive of their [illegible] and [illegible] personality was a [illegible] of a [illegible] of population [illegible] the qualities [illegible] and nature of different types of

and rhetorical works of Amir Khusrau may turn out to be very valuable working hypothesis for sociological studies. One has to apply historical methods for enquiring into the reality of things about the social aspects of the period. In judging Amir Khusrau as a social historian from his literary works we have to differentiate those which he wrote at the behest of kings and princes and dealt with the courts and courtiers, costumes and apparels, varieties of menues of the table, appurtenances, equipments and paraphernalia displaying their pomp and grandeur from those which he wrote because of some inner urge and impelling influences to display his talents and press his view-points about arts and letters upon the attention of people of literary tastes. We should not be oblivious of the fact that the Amir had his limitations as a social historian. Much is made of the oft-quoted *Nuh-Sepahr* in which the writer is at his best in asserting the superiority of India and the Indians to all the countries and peoples of the world. He has written in it about the climate, famine, flora, and fauna of India, knowledge and learning of the Hindus, their contributions in scientific, literary and cultural spheres and to religion and philosophy. All this is taken as proof positive of the poet's passionate patriotism and his emotional love for the country of his birth. One should not ignore the stark reality that the great poet writes differently and rather contemptuously, about the Hindus elsewhere. His much admired Brahman of *Nuh Sepahr* loses his lustre in *Mat.a-ul-Anwar* where he says that the cow worshipping Brahman is an ass and so is one who venerates the cow-dung. He had a remarkable knack of swimming along the currents, changing and adjusting himself to every changing situation, and worshipping the rising sun completely forgetting the benefits he had received from the sun that was set. It is not reasonable to suppose that his real feeling of respect and regards for the Indian [illegible] and emotional attachment to and love for the land [illegible] earth was mixed up with and was influenced, to a considerable extent, by the desire to please the particular social group which was the ruling power. We can presume though we have no [illegible] evidences that he was motivated to please Hasan Khusrau and his Baradu fellow tribesmen who held a dominant place in the court, freely practised their Hinduism, and were perhaps imbued with the idea of changing the political complexion of the

widely travelled. Moving freely in all circles, not only in the imperial metropolis, Delhi, but in the different parts of the country and particularly in India he had the capacity and opportunities of seeing and judging things for himself. His sense of Mastery and the Whole and the Absolute that he [illegible] the first two Khalji sovereigns and their campaigns are [illegible] in the north and the south suffer not only from [illegible] and overdramatized descriptions but also from a certain [illegible] candour in [illegible] campaigns [illegible] exigencies of the situation. He had [illegible] certain [illegible] embarassing facts such as the atrocious murder of the first by the second of the Khalji ruler, some Mongol victories over Delhi army, the charge of parricide of the first sovereign levelled by some against the second of the Tughlaqs, and above all the strained relations between Hazrat Nizamuddin Auliya and some of the Mamluk, Khalji and Tughlaq Sultans. Be it said to his credit however, that he had the courage sometimes to include in his panegyrical odes his ideas on conduct and duties of kings and that he ignored but did not distort facts.

There was a good deal of justification for the considered view of the late lamented Dr. K.M. Ashraf that Amir Khusrau was pre-eminently a historian of contemporary social life, as what he has written about life and conditions of people from birth to death, about their food and drinks, cloths and costumes, toilets and ornaments, sports and amusements, manners and customs, social relations and behaviour, varied professions, means of livelihood, marriage and family life, arts and crafts, recreations, hunting, excursions, agriculture and irrigational methods, language and literature, learning and education, virtues and vices of society, may be taken, when [illegible] of all verbiage and artificial [illegible] as a fairly understandable delineation of what had [illegible] had been seen or thought about by [illegible] Such information as Amir Khusrau has furnished as [illegible] Mughal [illegible] in his [illegible] enables us not only to [illegible] but also to get at the truth about the social conditions and cultural patterns of the age he lived in.

Considering the paucity of materials about social life in what are preferred historical records, the allusions and references, remarks and observations, even of wit and humour in the literary

important in their own ways, for they sometimes provide valuable data which are useful in sociological studies, they are much too tinctured with superstitious beliefs, saturated with conservative traditions, preconcerted, irrational notions and beliefs, bias and prejudices, and tainted with a generality of puerile trifles. Much that is extraordinary, improbable and incredible is taken as miraculous and accepted as facts, and too much stress is laid on formal rituals and empty recurring of prayers But even literary and religious sources with all their limitations are not absolutely devoid of importance because of the proximity of the time of the facts and things they record, the tastes of the age they indicate, and the picture of the times they depict. For our purpose and on this occasion it would suffice to concentrate on the most outstanding of the literary sources available to us in the works of Amir Khusrau, a man of versatile genius, of varied interests, humane and a humanist, liked by all classes of people, high and low, saying something about all whom he came in contact with. He was, however, not a Sufi in the proper sense of the term and many things attributed to him need critical survey and assessment. The chief importance of his works lies in the selection of Indian themes reflecting the tendencies, spirit, tastes, level, and pattern of society, culture, learning and conditions in general of the people of his age.

Some of his works like *Tarikh-i-Alai* or *Khazain-ul-Futuh*, *Miftah-ul-Futuh*, *Ashiqa*, *Nuh Sepahr* and *Tughlaqnama* have been included among the many different types and classes of historical literature His *Kulliyat*, the five *Diwans*, and the *Khamsa* Masnavis, and his stupendous five-volume *Risal-ul-Ejaz* were neither command performances nor do they deal with historical themes; they were the outcome of some inner urge, and what we get in them about the things of social and cultural import, after sifting the miscellaneous materials and clearing the grain from the husk are well worth our special attention Amir Khusrau never claimed himself to be a historian, dealing with the past as a lesson for the future He was interested in contemporary history and was largely concerned with what came within his personal experiences, and he made his observation about men and things, events and episodes of his own generation Being a man of high connection, possessed of an inquisitive mind and keen observant eyes, deeply learned,

Amir Khusrau as a Social Historian

History has been generally considered as chronicles of kings, courts and conquests, and not as a record of the varying fortunes, variation of manners and beliefs of the people of a country like India. It is the narrative of occurrences and events, exploits, wars and politics, virtues and vices of rulers, foreign and indigenous which mattered most for the chroniclers and was the main reason for their attraction. They exaggerated the events, essentially political and military, ignored or paid scant attention to, or underestimated their social bearing, progress, or deterioration which were the outcome of pressures of parties and politicians. There is very little or clearly stated information in political chronicles about social conditions and institutions, groups or grades, social structures, aptitudes and functions, the modes and ideals of life of different classes, of people, upper, lower, middle, commercial, educated, uneducated, professionals, artisans, labourers, agriculturist, wage earners, lazes, beggars and vagrants, etc. of urban and rural areas. One wishes in vain to find a full and understandable accounts of food and clothing, housing conditions, parts of the noble edifices, the conditions of [illegible] huts and dark corners, family life, festivals and [illegible], games and pastimes, amusements and entertainments, [illegible] and ceremonies, habits and customs, modes and [illegible] information [illegible] beliefs [illegible] good and bad [illegible] man.

Important sources of information of such [illegible] found lying here and there, [illegible] maxims, proverbs or in [illegible] are [illegible] with rhetorical verbose expressions and [illegible] mixed with, and lost in, fanciful devices, verbal quibbles, [illegible] boles, and prolix trivialities. The hagiological works [illegible]

17. *Ibid.*, p. 232.
18. *Ibid.*, pp. 83-4.
19. *Ibid.*, p. 23.
20. *Ibid.*, p. 149.
21. *Ibid.*, p. 16.
22. The [illegible] significant line in M. F. 'Kare Nam Bahadur Shah Sawaran Haran Zad Nasha-e Ba Chand Varan' Kare [illegible] were [illegible] have Warrior [illegible] master of the horse came out and beat the [illegible] followers). But Kare could not be Karad.
23. Amir Khusrau who was [illegible] of [illegible] word with double meaning that has given *Kabak* [illegible] and *Tasu* [illegible] the Mongol chiefs, Iqbal, Tas, Bu and Kapak.
24. [illegible] Hazder Zraka [illegible] Kacar are not easily identifiable.
25. [illegible] the [illegible] in the recent times of *Mohabbat Ka Kamal*.
26. *Tughlaq-Nama*, p. 25.
27. *Ibid.*, p. 26. Much more of such phrases are referred to in the *Hazar Khusrawi, Matla-ul-Anwar and Hasht Bihisht*.
28. Generally the Bhats were genealogist of family bards and not the [illegible] ters or *afsungaran*.
29. This has been [illegible] different from the ancient verb has of Khar bolna. The text of the [illegible] of Hafiz written or printed in India has [illegible] which, if genuine, is very significant for those interested in [illegible] texts. *Sug [illegible] ogarat hawa ma ha [illegible] hada mayar [illegible] ma ha.* The 13th century saint of Bihar Qazi Shihab pushes the expression Khanda Hai Pranda Kahar in the mouth of the 14th century Saint of Uchh Makhdum Syed Jalal Bukhari *(Maadan-ul-Asrar)*.
30. According to some the addition in the *Ashiqa* came after the death of Mubarak Khaljī, for Amir Khusrau could not afford to say anything disparaging of the Sultan in his life time.

reputation and ability to get reward for his military performances [illegible]

REFERENCES

[illegible] treatment of History by Amir Khusrau.

2. [illegible] Vol. III Chapter XII

3. Hardy, *Historians of Medieval India*, p. 43

4. [illegible] termine Indian 'chew'. See the writer's fairly long paper [illegible] Mark the Rawat-u-Arz or Arz-u-Mamalik [illegible] knowledge to owe my descent from [illegible] and I have pointed out each and [illegible] each word.'

5. [illegible]

6. [illegible] and female etc.

7. [illegible] addressed to his daughter, Mastura.

8. [illegible] 192-193.

9. [illegible] 497-705 A. H. See Barani for a detailed account.

10. The question of court attendance, change of [illegible] Khizr Khan, devotion to the saint, acceptance of [illegible] and some were the chief factors.

11. Some of his versions are indirectly confirmed by [illegible] Ibn-i Bat gives Khusrau Khan's forbearers as [illegible] the great evil who defeated Tughlaq's troops and plunged [illegible]

12. See Khusrau, *Tughlaq Nama*, ed. Syed Hashim [illegible] 911; The published text which contains many errors [illegible]

13. *Ibid*, p. 112

14. *Ibid*, pp. 128-29.

15. *Ibid*, p. 132

16. *Ibid*, p. 21.

fellows were engaged with their sorcery to give them protection.' We need not consider the ensigns and emblems of the Tughlaq except that unlike the Hindus, the distinguished mark of his flag was the peacock feather. As regards the Hindi words and phrases, a number of these have been aptly brought in. It would suffice to quote one very significant line in its original: 'Cho Bukshadand Tir i Be Khata ra-Bazari Gufi' *(hai hai tir mara)*[29]

Before concluding, it seems necessary to say that Amir Khusrau's historical works have defects and merits of their own. His isolated fragments of historical commentary of about four decades, couched in a highly artificial, affected and obscure language and style cannot be put in comparison with the works of other medieval historians. His understanding of history did not centre upon records of historical occurrences systematically and chronologically arranged, nor upon a set of ideas, but on persons and certain attractive themes. He does not always write in a straightforward manner, and seldom expresses his real sentiments lest that might offend and annoy those who were at the helm of affairs. He wrote with restraint about people whom he admired for their character and conduct. He could not turn his eyes away from the atrocious deeds of Malik Kafur and Mubarak Khalji, but he had no hesitation in putting forward a lame excuse for the latter. He wrote in the *Ashiqa*[30] in the lifetime of that worthless son and successor of Ala-ud Din. When the unkind or callous *he mihr* Sultan became cynical and surly (*tursh chun*), and malicious towards his kith and kin, he saw it advisable for his state to shed their blood and thought them to be fit for the sharp sword. He deemed to become vindictive and malevolent so that the country should be freed from evil-doers. He secretly despatched some one to Khizr Khan and instructed apologetically what he had in his heart (the evil intention) that he was intending against him.' One should keep a balance between one's praise and blame and should not be unnecessarily [illegible] [illegible] be fair to [illegible] It must be [illegible] that Amir Khusrau felt any animus towards those who were [illegible] be out-spoken in [illegible] the great saint of [illegible] Such garments [illegible] have the [illegible] His primary [illegible] was to demonstrate his literary [illegible] and [illegible]

[illegible] through good fortune. Again in the battle of Turaq and A[illegible] Beg you knocked down many heads. [illegible] victorious.'

[illegible] Rajas [illegible] Rajas [illegible] by the [illegible] [illegible] Wrapped [illegible] Pharmar [illegible] Pharmar [illegible] and shouting *marmar* [illegible] [illegible] The [illegible] tribes on their [illegible] [illegible] shame. As had wrapped themselves with a piece of [illegible] ready to die and [illegible] Yet it is the custom with the Hindus [illegible] they march out for battle, they wrap their heads with a [illegible] cloth called [illegible]. By tying the ties of [illegible] their [illegible] hundreds of [illegible] the [illegible] the [illegible] tax. Many of them had long teeth hanging [illegible] their necks symbolizing their ferocity and suggesting that they were [illegible] way inferior to tigers. The war Bhaats[illegible] (bards) of [illegible]

life of the age. Actually, very few have cared to scrutinize its contents, carefully and critically, and an ardent student of history is bound to be rewarded with useful information lying scattered here and there in it.

That the works of Amir Khusrau form a handy mine of factual information which should not be taken to be historical irrelevancies, can be easily established. The historian Barani, at times quotes him to confirm some of his views. In many particulars Barani's assertions are supplemented by the facts furnished by Amir Khusrau. There are many things which are found in his works alone. An example here will do. Barani tells us very little about the early life of the founder Sultan of the Tughlaq dynasty. Amir Khusrau has put the following into the mouth of those who exhorted him to assume the crown: 'When the men of sober counsels heard this, they said what you have said befits you and is true; but in throwing away your office you are taking away the pearl from yourself and putting it on others. All of us know what came about on account of your sword as that cannot be described by the tip of the pen. When the Khan (Ala-ud-Din) attacked the fort of Ranthambhor and laid siege to it, then the Rai Karad[22] made a stormy attack so that he should cut the iron siege by the sword of steel. He sent a strong force from within the fort which was like a mountain torrent sweeping off goods and chattels. There was such a loud and confused outcry in the camp of the Khan that one was falling on the other. You were ordered by the Khan to advance, and you went ahead of other chieftains. You displayed such valiant exertions in that battle as to make a whole world distressed. Two thirds of the Rai's army was cut down and the remaining one third managed with hundreds of pretexts to stay on. When you returned victorious from there you became a (much sought after) hawk in the hands of the Khan. This was the beginning of your good luck and the dawn of your rising fortune. When the Sultan was gone the faith and the dignities of the Tughlaqs remained with you. When an infidel (Mongol) marched against Baran (Bulandshahr) and made many Muslims his slaves like the Hindus, the king (Ala-ud-Din) sent you in that direction. You alone were responsible for the flow of the streams of their blood. There were four Tumans each [illegible] head of 10,000, and four Mirs (Chief) who were all princes of the Tartar dominion. When you [illegible] that [illegible] weight [illegible], could what you did for a small return. When you decided to face the ill-starred Iqbal you came out victorious over him

and useful. There is not much to feel enthused over the [illegible] description of [illegible] of the Congress [illegible] the Mosque [illegible] Moorish Mosque and the Hall [illegible] of [illegible] and [illegible] the [illegible] the State [illegible] [illegible] Wonderful the [illegible] Bridge and the [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

that the Delhi forces of Khusrau had already advanced upto Sarsuti, instead of being frightened by the numerousness of the enemy army he felt happy. He shewed mirth and hilarity at his prospects like the lion or wolf at the abundance of sheep and rams.[28]

Amir Khusrau has been charged with not considering of human motives and being influenced or being acted upon by human situations in the historians would conceive them.[29] Some of his lines are well worth his consideration in this connection. Such as, for instance, the error of calculation of the Emperor that whatever happened to Qutb-ud-din Mubarak Khilji it was predetermined by the Tree of Fate.[30] One simple quotation can tell us about the wicked background of Khusrau Khan's episode. If unfitting things had not been practised upon me such things would not have come out from me. I would not have committed this treacherous act.[31] This is a most meaningful reply, given in explanation of his misdeeds, refer to the past crime and to, perhaps, not an unjust grievance. What has been displayed in all is nakedness by Barani has been not approved by our refined and cultured poet historian. He has not however spared his erstwhile deceased patron, has brought his character and conduct which caused his ruin and has waxed eloquent on the consequences of licentiousness and negligence of rulers. Wine and love, lust and youth, pleasure and enjoyment, dominion and success. How can one whose mind is filled up with such air currents give thoughts to and feel concerned with, the future? It does not behove the ruler to become immersed in love and lust. A king is the constant protector of God's creatures. It would be wrong for such a guardian to remain intoxicated. If the shepherd spoils himself by the use of pure wine, the herd goes into a state of sleep in the stomach of the wolf. In law, which means the rules and regulations of the Government, the stability of political affairs lies in vigilence and watchfulness. How can it befit a man who holds in his fists the reins of regions to lie carelessly on his back in his bed. It is not becoming on the part of a person to sleep over his affairs, for eventually he may be weighed down by the burden of his own remorse. This is specially the case with a king, for the enemies near his state are much greater in number than his friends.[32] If history has a moral purpose, such views and observations against the background of political events, as we find here and elsewhere, cannot be dismissed merely as trivial, unrealistic and conventional.

Amir Khusrau's critic does not find the particulars of geographical areas and topographical details given by him to be illuminating

the horse,, had not lost their heart after their earlier disappointments.' 'Malik Ghazi was standing in the battle-field while his cavalry was engaged in pursuit and pillage. All of a sudden a tumultuous Hindu mob, lying in ambush, appeared to deliver a severe assault. More than a thousand of Bhuss of black visage made a furious onslaught and the Hindu archers moved swiftly in shooting. Their contingent of the Bhuss force fell on the standard and the [illegible] the banner were broken into pieces. The banner and [illegible] of Malik Ghazi were [illegible] on the ground. All glory to God. When their heart was possessed by Malik Ghazi the [illegible] of the [illegible] he did not [illegible] of the place he was [illegible] ... [illegible] by the [illegible] ting the mosques and [illegible] and the [illegible] up [illegible] the situation. Here [illegible] places. When [illegible] places he [illegible] or the head of a pen [illegible] in [illegible] of the damage done by him. Whatever [illegible] by him, every one of [illegible] the work of the [illegible]. If you see with [illegible] [illegible] the [illegible] of calamity and fitness in everything through the ordainment of Providence."

Was Tughlaq's victory and his eventual rehabilitation a mere accident, or was it determined by the Causer of Causes that [illegible] act in a way so as to prevail? Amir Khusrau's [illegible] at the moral Islamic way in which a crusades of fortune serving the Alaus family was attempted but he does not fling his searching eyes on some significant lines which could provide answer to one of his charges about the non-mention of the sources of information. 'Such misfortunes and calamities about which I used to hear before have now been seen by my own eyes.'[illegible] This observation occurs in connection with the detailed and pathetic account of the gruesome murder of the two princess, Farid and Abu Bakr aged 11 and 14, who had received good education and had [illegible] the Quran. One was practising archery, another was an intelligent boy interested in calligraphy and both were in the act of prayer after performing the ceremonial ablution with dust in the absence of water when they were cut down by the sword of the ruffians. The sad and pitiful tale of the blinding of the three surviving princes Ali, Raha and Usman, aged between 8 and 5 has been described on the testimony of a reliable eye-witness. It is from the afflicted heart of one who was an eye-witness of the calamity that such things have drawn out.[illegible] Elsewhere after dwelling on the virtues of truth and [illegible] the author refers to a well-informed witness. Thus a person who was very well acquainted with affairs that when Ghazi Malik came to know

Shaaban, 720, near Hauz-i Khas of Delhi, our author says that a contingent of the usurper's army of probably ten thousand warlike Braiu (also spelt as Braus) cavalry broke through and paralysed the forces of Ghazi Malik, who was left only with 300* soldiers to rely upon. Nothing daunted, he stuck to his place. His bold stand and brave words inspired some of his followers led by Bahram Aiba, Bahadur Dan Shaiwa and Malik Shadi. But they were hardly 300 in number. Let us read what Amir Khusrau has written in the *Tughlaq-Nama*. When all these gathered together they came to 300 and even less than that. When Malik Ghazi looked in front and behind he found only this small force and nothing more. But he did not care about the huge horde which he fancied was surrounding the umbrella (*chhatra*). He cried out "God is great" at the top of his voice and rushed forward foaming (as waves) towards the (opposite) umbrella and its bearer. He delivered his assault boiling with rage, with such a fury that the entire battle field began to resound with it. The impetuous attack of that excellent one of faith caused the confused assembly to become doubly confounded. In whatever direction Malik Ghazi turned his reins no sooner the enemies saw him than they seemed to be giving up their ghost. A man suddenly appeared before him and at once received a fatal wound from an arrow. Then boldly, and with a fierce charge, he struck down the umbrella (*chhatra*) with such a hard blow that it fell upside down on the head of the luckless fellow (Khusrau). With the fall of the umbrella on the ground the order and arrangement of the enemy and the ceremonial dignity and insignia (carried as ensigns upon the elephant) fell in disorder. Hasan (Khusrau) was in headlong flight with his fleeing forces and the trumpet was blowing heralding proclamation (of Victory).'

Fortunately for the valiant Tughlaq his chief opponent was spiritless and over awed. But by unloosening the purse strings of the accumulated treasures and playing, perhaps, on the explosive sentiments of his erstwhile fellow religionists he had gathered an immense horde around him. There were the intrepid, desperate, 'Braus, arrayed in front of the war elephants.' 'Ten thousand cavalry of Rana and Rawals,' and self seeking Muslims 'who had become the attendants and servants of the Hindus and their constant companions and hangers.' In fact his army was so heavily manned by Hindus and Muslims as to astonish both the infidel and the faithful. The Braus, each one of whom was swift and agile on the back (of

[illegible]

my helper.'

[illegible]

same work.

[illegible]

[illegible] honesty of our poet historian, we have to take into [illegible] the previous [illegible] and the [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

and chronologically giving a connected and systematic account of the past and making valid historical analysis. But history with Amir Khusrau was contemporary history, and, he could not shake off his obsession with literary accomplishments.

Amir Khusrau has nowhere claimed to be a historian and has frankly stated as that he wrote his descriptive studies [illegible] important but [illegible] either on the suggestion of or for presentation to the reigning sovereigns. There was no [illegible] to do so. History cannot be written without some basis of selection from the [illegible] of happenings which constitute the country. Amir Khusrau's selection appears to be arbitrary and not [illegible] with what was inherent in the events and themes dealt with. [illegible] the principle of selection in most cases was not of his choice but was imposed. He [illegible] with [illegible] exception [illegible] not [illegible] in Nizam ud Din who was great in many ways, but [illegible] his weaknesses and despotic [illegible] in the high [illegible] and even in the perfunctory remarks of the Khusrau. Even the best and the greatest of sovereigns had their virtues and vices but Amir Khusrau is found to have been concerned with all that was good and bad in [illegible] that was bad. Even a [illegible] of the [illegible] of the pandemonium of the [illegible] Khusrau and [illegible] in his mantle Masnavi, the [illegible] and the [illegible] in respect of women, would suffice to enable one to revise such an opinion about him.

Many of the connected facts may have been known to him but he has [illegible] which, circumstanced as he was, [illegible] to [illegible]. Perhaps he desired [illegible] the [illegible] the [illegible] [illegible] Ramazan [illegible] He [illegible] the [illegible] of the [illegible] of [illegible] to [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

intervention of the Divine in human affairs, nor stereotyped descriptions of events connected with the deeds of kings, courtiers and nobles, unwholesome eulogium on those who were in power, and condemnation of those undeservedly praised during their life time, in total disregard of their good and bad, just and unjust, religious and impious actions. The historian is concerned more with groups than with individuals, more with human decisions than with Divine causation, more with the study of the past than with the delineation and appraisal of the facts and changes occuring in one's lifetime.

One cannot deny the aptness of much of such remarks, specially if one ignores the 13th Century time and the situation and the atmosphere of the age in which Amir Khusrau lived. He has been appraised many on the basis of his poetical and prose works, and, undoubtedly, he occupies a very high position as a talented litterateur and artist which he so eminently deserved. But his competence as a writer of history is questioned. Would it be fair, however, to say that his works do not contain all that a modern reader likes to be the concept and appreciation of history. To what extent are we justified in blaming him for his failure to realise the need of a wide historical panorama, of a continuous, objective, critical, chronological, factual narrative, true to facts and morally instructive, and for his not rising above the pride and prejudices, fashions and traditions of the time? Did he really miss the bus? It is true that, as the son of an Amir of Iltutmish who was of Lachin Turkish extraction and the grandson, on his mother side, of a high official of Balban's court and of Indian origin, he had excellent connections in political circles, and had opportunities of observing many of the important events and gathering extremely important historical information from the notable and learned personalities he had contact with.

But history was not his prime concern. Religion, love of art and literature, search for beauty and the fulfilment of his economic need, by legitimate means were his dominant life motives. There was a possibility of his being deeply involved in contemporary politics by virtue of his upbringing and position, but as a Sufi and as one of the famous disciples of Nizamud-Din Auliya he was of the world and also out of it in the sense that although he had to earn for his bread by his literary trade, he kept himself out of the controversies, questions and situations arising from the ups and downs in the field of politics and religion. He was a man of learning and intelligence and was capable of handling historical subjects critically

determinatives. [illegible] the mere mechanical [illegible] series of events that [illegible] happened [illegible] absolute [illegible]. The more important thing is to say [illegible] has come [illegible] that. A historian is expected [illegible] the causes and effects [illegible] find out. The forces that [illegible] as [illegible]. The essence of [illegible] the past [illegible] treat [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

AMIR KHUSRAU AS A HISTORIAN

Unlike the philosophic Hindus who viewed this world, including human life, as an illusion and had, consequently, a certain disregard for history, the Muslims like the ancient Chinese and the Greeks, seem to have had from the very beginning a keen desire to know the past and to collect and keep a record of men and events, happenings and occurrences. Their innate sense of enquiry and historical consciousness made them interested in the course of human affairs and anxious for rescuing the past from oblivion. They began to compile books containing biographical sketches, historical anecdotes and chronicles of events, public or private. Historiography, accordingly, flourished under the early Turks in India. Different types of historical literature were produced in India during the early medieval period. Historical writings of the period were of different variety in respect of style, literary form, outlook, method, content and value. The works of Minhaj Siraj, Hasan Nizami, Fakhr-i Mudabbir are so different from one another, and also from those of Barani, Afif and others. But they were all professional historians and have been accepted as such by even modern European writers of history. The case of Amir Khusrau who, besides his five *diwans*, has four 'historical *masnavis*' and two prose works, also containing historical matter, is a little different, according to some writers, as we shall see hereafter. The fact is that the view of history in that age was, as a whole, quite different from what we find today. The old medieval tradition of historiography that historical works could be written in a special style and might combine oratory and poetry, cannot commend itself to a modernist who abhors or finds very fault with the old patterns of rhetorical history. It is quite [illegible] that the views on history and other [illegible] held by modern thinkers should have changed with the change of time, and the [illegible] of historians [illegible] be the [illegible] it was before. [illegible] history is now taken in a more comprehensive sense. Some [illegible] their narratives on wars and conquests, others concentrate on law and government, state and [illegible], and yet others view the economic, social, religious and [illegible] factors to be important

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AMIR KHUSRAU

AS A HISTORIAN

by
Prof. S. H. Askari
Patna

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